

Khalid Mourigh and Maarten Kossmann

An Introduction to Tarifiyt Berber (Nador, Morocco)

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1. Introduction

1.1 About this book

Tarifiyt is a Berber language spoken in north-eastern Morocco. The autonym is *tamazixt* (or *Tamazight*), which can be used for any Berber language or, more specifically, *tarifešt*. In this *Introduction to Tarifiyt Berber*, we present the main structures of the variety of the agglomeration of Nador, the largest city in the region. The specific dialect presented here is that of *Iqeɛɛiyen* (or *Guelaïa*) in *Zeghanghane* (*Azyenyan*, also known as *Segangan*), as spoken by one of the authors. Even though there exist important linguistic differences within Tarifiyt, we have decided to focus on one variety only, and to abstain from any reference to others. We prefer this over a presentation that would point to smaller (and occasionally larger) variations at virtually every point in the grammar (for information on dialectal variation, see Lafkioui 2007). One may note that Nador Tarifiyt features seem to be spreading in the region (e.g. the use of the past tense marker *tuya* instead of *dža*), pointing to a certain prestige, so from this point of view, focusing on this specific variant does not seem to be completely arbitrary.

This book consists of a grammatical sketch, texts, and a vocabulary that lists the words used in the preceding parts. We envisage a readership with a basic knowledge of linguistics, who want to learn more about the language and its structures. The book is not meant to be a language course (for which one could use Hassan Yahia 2013), nor is it meant to provide a full-fledged grammatical analysis.

In writing this *Introduction*, we have drawn extensively on existing literature, especially the 1979 thesis by Mohammed Chami. Based on essentially the same dialect as described by us, it provides an overview of the phonology and morphology of *Iqeɛɛiyen* Tarifiyt. In a similar vein, the studies by Kaddour Cadi (1987; 2006) on *Iqeɛɛiyen* verbal syntax provided important input. The same is of course true for other works on Tarifiyt, like those by Mena Lafkioui, even though the different dialectal grounding of most of these studies implies more divergence. For the examples, we have based ourselves sometimes on the Tarifiyt texts published in Maarten Kossmann's *De menseneetster* (Kossmann 2004), which contains stories from the same region, although none from *Iqeɛɛiyen* proper. The sentences were checked by Khalid Mourigh and adapted to his dialect where necessary.

1.2 Berber

Tarifiyt is part of the Berber language family, one of the branches of the Afroasiatic (or Hamito-Semitic) language phylum. Berber languages are spoken in a large, but discontinuous area ranging from the Atlantic coast to western Egypt, and from the Mediterranean to the Niger river. There exists a large

body of literature on individual Berber languages and on their shared features (see 1.7). For general overviews, one can consult Basset (1952); Galand (1992; 2010); and Kossmann (2012).

Berber languages share much of their basic grammatical structures, and a large part of their basic vocabulary, but also show a high degree of differentiation. To a large degree, the Berber language family can be described as a dialect continuum. This means that, from a bird eye's view, varieties are so different that there is every reason to consider them different languages. On the other hand, when trying to establish unambiguous linguistic boundaries, one is bound to fail. With very few exceptions, neighboring varieties are mutually intelligible, and even though there are some salient linguistic borders, they are not strong enough to block the diffusion of linguistic innovations. In Berber studies, this situation has led to the opinion that Berber is one single language with some dialectal variation, an idea that is embraced by Berber cultural and nationalist movements. In practice, this seems exaggerate the similarities, as, in our subjective assessment, differences are comparable to the differences found within the Germanic or within the Romance language family.

The dialect continuum makes counting the number of Berber languages and any attempt at subclassification extremely problematic. In the following, the most important Berber varieties will be listed in a geographical fashion.

- Mauritania: Zenaga (a highly endangered language, very different from all other Berber varieties)
- Morocco: Tashelhiyt (SW Morocco)
Central Moroccan Berber (aka Tamazight, Middle Atlas Berber)
Tarifiyt (NE Morocco)

In addition, there are two varieties in northwestern Morocco, Senhaja de Sraïr and Ghomara, that are quite different both from Central Moroccan Berber and Tarifiyt.

- Algeria: Western Algerian dialects (mostly endangered)
Kabyle (NE Algeria)
Chaouia (NE Algeria)
Northern Saharan oases
- Tunisia: Djerba and a number of villages in southern Tunisia (highly endangered)
- Libya: Djebel Nefusa and Zuara (western Libya)
A number of oasis dialects
- Egypt: Siwa

In addition, the Tuaregs also speak a Berber language. They mostly live in Niger and Mali, but also, in smaller numbers, in Burkina Faso, Algeria, and Libya.

Tarifiyt is linguistically closest to its neighbors to the south-east and east: western Algerian dialects, Central Moroccan varieties from the northeastern part of the Middle Atlas (Ayt Warayn, Ayt Seghrushen), and the north-Saharan oasis dialect of Figuig in eastern Morocco.

1.3 Tarifiyt

Tarifiyt refers to the Berber varieties as spoken in the eastern half of northern Morocco, in and around the mountains and hills that form the Rif, the mountain range that borders the Mediterranean coast. The exact delimitation of Tarifiyt differs from author to author. The differences mostly concern the status of the easternmost (Beni Iznasen and Kebdana), and the westernmost varieties (Senhaja de Sraïr, Ketama). An elaborate dialectometric analysis undertaken by Mena Lafkioui (among others Lafkioui 2011: 176–191) shows that there is a major divide between the Tarifiyt varieties around Al Hoceima (Ayt Weryaghel, Ayt Ammart) and those more to the east, including the Iqeřiyeen variety that is the subject of this book. This conclusion concurs well with the observation that native speakers of Iqeřiyeen Tarifiyt have little (if any) problems in understanding neighboring varieties such as Ayt Seïd, while it demands some more effort to understand the Tarifiyt spoken by members of the Ayt Weryaghel group.

Tarifiyt (*tarifešt* in Iqeřiyeen Berber) is a regular feminine form of *arifi* (plural: *irifiyen*) ‘Riffian’; in Berber, language names are always formed by means of the feminine. In modern usage, *irifiyen* usually refers to all Berber-speaking inhabitants of north-eastern Morocco, with the possible exception of the westernmost and the easternmost groups. Traditionally, its use is more restricted, and the Iqeřiyeen are not included in this denomination. Nowadays, both the wider and the narrower meaning of the term are current in the region. The traditional name of the language is *tmazixt* (Tamazight), a term that is widely used, albeit in different forms, among Berber-speaking groups all over northern Africa. Tarifiyt, as a linguistic term, is a new coinage, developed when it became more and more relevant to distinguish it from other Berber varieties.

Morocco is a multilingual country. The majority of the population speaks Moroccan Arabic (*dariža*) as their native language, a variant of Arabic that is different from the official standard as well as from Arabic vernaculars in other countries. Berber is spoken by about a quarter to a third of the Moroccan population,¹ but almost everybody is bilingual in Moroccan Arabic. The official language of the country is Standard Arabic. In addition, Berber has been recognized recently as an official language, but written Berber is little used in official contexts. French still plays a major role in the country as the language of business and sciences. In the Rif, Spanish has been very important. Different

¹ According to the 2014 census, 26% of the Moroccan population uses Berber (“langue utilisée”). The definition of “utiliser” is unclear, and, in view of the lack of prestige of Berber among many of its speakers, this is undoubtedly an underestimation of the real number of Berber speakers in the country. Data retrieved in February 2017 from the website of the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (<http://rgphentableaux.hcp.ma/>).

from most of Morocco, the Mediterranean coast was occupied by the Spanish from 1912–1956, and this colonial heritage still lingers on. Moreover, Spanish is the official language of the enclave of Melilla, about 14 kilometers from Nador.

According to the most recent census data, Tarifiyt is spoken by 4.0 % of the Moroccan population, which amounts to about 1.35 million people. One may add to this number sizeable communities outside Morocco, especially in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Spain. Since the beginning of the 21st century, Berber has gained official recognition as a national language of Morocco, and educational programs have been initiated. Official and educational uses of Berber work with a newly standardized variant, composed from elements of all Moroccan Berber varieties. As such, this standard Berber, especially its written form, is incomprehensible to a speaker of Tarifiyt, especially as Arabic loanwords – which are very frequent in Tarifiyt – have been replaced by forms from other Berber varieties, or by new coinages.

In addition to writings in standard Berber, Tarifiyt also functions as a language of written literature. Literary productions in Tarifiyt were first published in the early 1990s, both in Morocco and in the Netherlands. Over the last 25 years a considerable number of works – mostly poetry and short stories – has appeared (for a recent bibliography, see Ĥamdāwī 2013).

In spite of the quantity and quality of these works, it seems that their wider impact is rather low; as one cultural activist put it – with ironic exaggeration –, there are more people who write Tarifiyt than people who read it. On the other hand, in the spoken realm, Tarifiyt is very present. There exists a large number of singers who perform in Tarifiyt, there are a couple of soap series in Tarifiyt, Moroccan television has broadcasting of short news bulletins in the language, and one may find reports in Tarifiyt in local media. Even in official situations Tarifiyt is regularly used, for example in municipal council meetings, and officials have no impediment to speaking Berber in public when this benefits their audience or their interests. Similarly, many Muslim clerics and preachers use Tarifiyt freely in order to convey their message. All in all, Tarifiyt is a vigorous language, used locally in most realms of life except where writing is concerned.

Traditionally, the Rif is a region with few urban centres, if one leaves out Melilla, which has been under Spanish control since 1497. This has changed over the past hundred years, and nowadays it is home to a number of cities. The largest among these is Nador, which has 159,590 inhabitants according to the 2014 census; the second-largest city is El Hoceima with 55,557 inhabitants. In both cases, there is a larger conurbation, which in the case of Nador includes the municipalities of Bni Ansar and Zeghanghane.

1.4 History of Tarifiyt studies

Like for most Berber languages, the study of Tarifiyt Berber started in the 19th century. The first comprehensive study of Tarifiyt was undertaken by René Basset in the framework of his general dialectological overview of the Berber varieties. Most comprehensive among these is R. Basset (1897), which provides

a comparative overview of Tarifiyt phonetics and a word list. As is the case of most of René Basset's works on Berber, the data are transcribed in a rather deficient way, and are often unreliable, esp. as the Latin transcriptions seem to be based on a rendering in Arabic script rather than on what was actually pronounced. To the modern user, they are still of considerable interest, as they give an impression of the state of the language before the colonial period. Around the same period, some portions of the Bible were translated into Tarifiyt, viz. the Gospel of Matthew, published in 1887 and the Gospel of John, published in 1890.

Serious study of Tarifiyt started in the first decades of the 20th century. Within the French school of Berber studies, the most important person who worked on Tarifiyt was Samuel Biarnay, who wrote two monographs on the language. The first monograph is a description of Tarifiyt as spoken in an immigrant community in the Algerian city of Arzew (Biarnay 1911), while the second provides phonology, vocabulary and texts of the entire Rif (Biarnay 1917). After Biarnay, Tarifiyt was only a minor subject in Berber studies for a long time, no doubt because it was spoken in the Spanish part of the Moroccan protectorate. A notable exception is Renisio (1932), who provides an – even in 1932 – somewhat outdated overview of Tarifiyt grammar, as well as a word list and a high-quality text collection. The main focus of Renisio's work lies on the varieties east and west of Tarifiyt proper, Beni Iznasen and Senhaja de Sraïr, but he also provides information on the central part of the Rif. In Spain, Berber studies were much less developed than in France, and in spite of the importance of northern Morocco as one of the few Spanish-administered overseas territories, only few researchers worked on Tarifiyt. In 1905, the Franciscan monk Pedro Hilarión Sarrionandia published a didactic grammar of Tarifiyt. In 1944 another Franciscan, Esteban Ibáñez, published a Spanish–Tarifiyt dictionary, to a large degree based on manuscripts by Sarrionandia. In 1949, the Tarifiyt–Spanish counterpart was published, which is basically an index on the 1944 publication. The two dictionaries were reedited as a single volume in 2007, indicating both Sarrionandia and Ibáñez as the authors.

In the first thirty years after the Second World War, studies of Tarifiyt were extremely rare, and for a long time, the language was all but totally neglected within Berber studies. Only in the late 1970s this changed with Mohamed Chami's unpublished PhD thesis *Un parler amazigh du Rif marocain* (1979), which provides a general overview of the grammar of Iqeɛiyen Tarifiyt. This was followed by a number of other theses, such as Cadi (1981, published 1987; 2006) on Tarifiyt syntax and Chtatou (1982, not published) on phonology. Since then, Tarifiyt has been the subject of a number of theses on the pre-Doctoral and Doctoral levels in Morocco and in France; unfortunately, hardly any of these works have been published. Since the late 1990s, Tarifiyt has become one of the major focuses of research in Berber linguistics, and one of the main varieties of reference. Kossmann (2000) is a sketch grammar of the Beni Iznasen variety just to the east of Tarifiyt proper. MacClelland (2000; 2004; 2008) focusses on Iqeɛiyen Tarifiyt; unfortunately the author seems to have misunderstood much of the phonetics and the morphophonology of the language, which makes his work difficult to use. Mohammed Serhoual compiled a large dictionary as his Thèse d'État at the university of Tetouan in

2000–2001. This important work has not yet been published, but copies of it can be found on the internet. The great boost in Tarifiyt studies, however, is due to the works by Mena Lafkioui, who, starting shortly before the turn of the millennium, has published a long series of books and articles on the language. Most important among these is her *Atlas linguistique des variétés berbères du Rif* (2007), which presents dialectal variation in the Rif (including Beni Iznasen in the east and Senhaja de Srir in the west) for 141 data points in 356 maps. It provides information on many realms of the language – phonetics, morphology, and lexicon. Moreover, the explanatory text between the maps can be read as a full grammatical overview of these matters. Important elements of syntax, intonation, and pragmatics are found in other works by Lafkioui, such as Lafkioui (1996; 2011, with reff., etc.).

1.5 Materials

In the following, some important materials on Tarifiyt will be listed. The list is far from exhaustive.

Text books: There are, to our knowledge, three text books for Tarifiyt Berber, two of them in Spanish. The first among these is Sarrionandia (1905) and the second, over 100 years later, the elementary course by Jahfar Hassan Yahia (2013). Tilmatine e.a. (1998) is a short introduction to Tarifiyt grammar and lexicon in Catalan.

Grammars: The comprehensive study of Iqerčeyen Berber grammar by Chami (1979) has unfortunately remained unpublished. Among recent works, Kossmann (2000) provides an overview of an adjacent variety, Beni Iznasen. Lafkioui's dialect atlas (2007) is very rich in materials and analyses, and the maps and comments cover a large part of the phonology and morphology of Tarifiyt. Of course, the older grammars (Biarnay 1911, 1917; Renisio 1932) also remain relevant.

Dictionaries: The only recently published dictionary of Tarifiyt is MacClelland (2004). Unfortunately, this work is unreliable as to its transcription and morphological analysis. The unpublished dictionary by Serhoual (2002), to a large part a compilation of lexical material from other sources, is well available on the internet. Kossmann (2009) is a word list, compiled by Khalid Mourigh, of about 1,600 basic items for the same variety of Tarifiyt as presented in this study. Furthermore, the dictionary by Ibáñez, based on materials collected by Sarrionandia, is worth consulting (reedited as Sarrionandia & Ibáñez 2007).

Text editions: There are several text editions of Tarifiyt Berber folktales, mostly from regions west of Nador. El Ayoubi (2000) presents ten stories in the Ayt Weryaghel dialect (region of Al Hoceima), told by one of the most remarkable story tellers recorded in Morocco, with a French translation. Bezzazi & Kossmann (1997) is a bilingual Beni Iznasen – Dutch edition of fairy tales, while Kossmann (2004) is a similar edition of fairy tales that are mostly from the region of Driouch (esp. Ayt Oulichek and Ayt Tuzin). Chacha (2000) is a study, written in Tarifiyt, of *izran*, traditional songs. El Marraki (2009) presents a monolingual edition of traditional *izran*. A selection of these texts have been retranscribed and translated into Dutch in Mayssa & Mourigh (2015).

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- SARRIONANDIA, Pedro Hilarión. 1905. *Gramática de la lengua rifeña*. Tanger: Impr. hispano-arábiga. Photostatic reedition, Melilla: AlboránBellaterra (2007).
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1.7 Further reading on Berber

General overviews of Berber linguistics (selection):

- BASSET, André. 1952. *La langue berbère*. Handbook of African Languages, Part I. London etc.: Oxford University Press. → The classical overview of Berber languages.
- CHAKER, Salem. 1984. *Textes en linguistique berbère (introduction au domaine berbère)*. Paris: Editions du CNRS. → First collection of articles by one of the most influential structuralist Berberologists.
- 1995. *Linguistique berbère. Études de syntaxe et de diachronie*. Paris & Louvain: Peeters. → Second collection of articles by one of the most influential structuralist Berberologists.
- GALAND, Lionel. 1988. Le berbère. In: Jean Perrot, ed. *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*, Vol. III: *Les langues chamito-sémitiques (textes réunis par David Cohen)*. Paris: CNRS. 207–242. → Condensed overview of the structures of Berber, based on, but going beyond, Tashelhiyt.
- 2002. *Études de linguistique berbère*. Louvain & Paris: Peeters. → Collection of the most important articles by the most influential berberologist of the post-colonial period.
- 2010. *Regards sur le berbère*. Milan: Centro Studi Camito-Semiti. → Analytical overview of all major questions in Berber linguistics.
- KOSSMANN, Maarten. 2012. Berber. In: Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Erin Shay, eds. *The Afroasiatic Languages*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. 18–101. → General overview of Berber language structures aiming at an audience of linguists without previous knowledge of Berber.
- 2013. *The Arabic Influence on Northern Berber*. Leiden & Boston: E.J. Brill. → An overview of contact phenomena in northern Berber.

Descriptive Grammars of other Berber languages (selection)

Morocco:

- BENTOLILA, Fernand. 1981. *Grammaire fonctionnelle d'un parler berbère. Aït Seghrouchen d'Oum Jeniba (Maroc)*. Paris: SELAF. → Influential grammar of a variety from the eastern Middle Atlas (Morocco) in a French structuralist framework.
- BISSON, Paul. 1940. *Leçons de berbère Tamazight. Dialecte des Aït Ndhir (Aït Nâaman)*. Rabat: Félix Moncho. → Old-fashioned but very good course book teaching the same variety as described in Penchoen (1973a).

- KOSSMANN, Maarten. 1997. *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)*. Paris & Louvain: Peeters. → Descriptive grammar of an oasis variety in eastern Morocco.
- MOURIGH, Khalid. 2016. *A Grammar of Ghomara Berber*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Descriptive grammar of the Berber variety spoken in northwestern Morocco, characterized by very profound influence of colloquial Arabic.
- PENCHOEN, Thomas. 1973a. *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*. Los Angeles: Undena. → Short introduction to a northern Middle Atlas variety (Morocco).
- SADIQI, Fatima. 1997. *Grammaire du berbère*. Paris: L'Harmattan. → Grammar of a variety from the northern High Atlas (Morocco).

Algeria:

- BASSET, André and André PICARD. 1948. *Éléments de grammaire kabyle (Kabylie-Irjen)*. Algiers: Éditions "La Typo-Litho" & Jules Carbonel. → Very complete overview of Kabyle morphology, with due attention to syntactic features.
- CHAKER, Salem. 1983. *Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie)*. Syntaxe. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence. → Grammar of a variety from Greater Kabylia (Algeria) in a French structuralist framework.
- PENCHOEN, Thomas. 1973b. *Étude syntaxique d'un parler berbère (Ait Frah de l'Aurès)*. Naples: Centro di Studi Magrebini. → Grammar (mainly syntax) of Chaouia Berber in a French structuralist framework.

Libya, Egypt, Sahel zone:

- HEATH, Jeffrey. 2005. *A Grammar of Tamashek (Tuareg of Mali)*. Berlin etc.: Mouton de Gruyter. → Elaborate modern descriptive grammar of Mali Tuareg.
- KOSSMANN, Maarten. 2011. *A Grammar of Ayer Tuareg (Niger)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Grammatical introduction to a Tuareg variety from Niger.
- 2013. *A Grammatical Sketch of Ghadames Berber (Libya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Grammatical introduction to a Berber language in Libya, based on previous literature.
- LUX, Cécile. 2014. *Le tetsreret, langue berbère du Niger. Description phonétique et morphologique dans une perspective comparative*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Grammatical study of a language closely related to Mauritanian Berber spoken in Niger.
- PRASSE, Karl-G. 2010. *Tuareg Elementary Course (Tahaggart)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Course book of Tuareg by the most important specialist in Tuareg linguistics.
- PUTTEN, Marijn van. 2014. *A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya)*. Based on Umberto Paradisi's Material. → Grammatical analysis of a Berber language of Libya, based on previous literature.
- SOUAG, Lameen. 2014. *Berber and Arabic in Siwa (Egypt)*. A Study in Linguistic Contact. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe. → Grammatical overview of the easternmost variety of Berber, focusing on language contact.

1.8 Glosses and abbreviations

In this book, we use a way of linguistic glossing that is different from the standard in the field of Anglosaxon descriptive linguistics. Inspired by the running glosses used in many French publications, we have devised the following system.

a. In the glosses, each word is translated into English as completely as possible. Where English needs several words to convey what is rendered by one word in Tarifiyt, the English words are joined by a dot, e.g.

yessawaṛ
he.speaks¹

b. Grammatical features are only indicated when the English translation is ambiguous. Thus, for example, there is no need to specify that 'he' in "he.speaks" is a third person masculine form, as this is exactly what the translation shows. However, in the case of English 'you', such explanations are necessary. Explanations of this type are put in superscript capital letters after the element in question. When several features have to be indicated this way, they are divided by a colon, e.g.

tessawaṛent
you^{12M}.speak¹

c. As the aspectual systems of English and Tarifiyt are too different to give one-to-one equivalents, aspect is always indicated. This is the case, for example, of the Imperfective (abbreviated 'I') in the examples above. The imperative is marked by an exclamation mark following the translation, e.g.

ssiweṛ
speak!^A

d. State is only indicated when the noun in question has a morphological distinction between the Annexed State and the Free State.

e. In the few cases where English makes more grammatical distinctions than Berber, the running glosses follow the English translation.

f. For a number of grammatical elements special renderings are used that are not based on the English translation. Such forms are written in small capital letters.

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

A	Aorist
AD	The particle <i>a(d)</i> ~ <i>ya</i> 'non-realized', see 7.1.1
AS	Annexed State
DO	Direct object
F	Feminine
FS	Free State
I	Imperfective
INJ	Injunctive

IO	Indirect object
M	Masculine
NI	Negative Imperfective
NP	Negative Perfective
P	Perfective
PAST	The particle <i>tuya</i> 'past reference', see 8.2 and 13.4.2
PL	Plural
Q	The particle <i>ma</i> , indicating a yes/no question, see 12.1
QA	The particle <i>qa</i> 'relevance for the moment of speaking', see 8.1 and 13.4.1
SG	Singular
XAD	The modal particle <i>xa(d)</i> , see 7.1.1

2. Sounds, writing, phonology

2.1 Writing Tarifit Berber

Tarifit Berber is written in many different ways. There exist several Latin transcription systems, some of them used for scientific purposes, others in literary productions, such as collections of poems. In some publications it is written in Arabic script, while others use the specifically Berber (neo-)Tifinagh script for writing Tarifit.

Neo-Tifinagh is derived from the traditional writing system of the Tuareg (who call it *tifinay*, *čifinay* or *šifinay*, depending on the dialect). This system, in turn, is a continuation of the Libyco-Berber script of Antiquity, which may or may not be derived from the Punic script, but is in any case inspired by the Punic writing system.² While Tifinagh has a long tradition in Tuareg, its use for writing other Berber languages dates back only 50 years. In the course of the 1960s Algerian Berber intellectuals designed a new version of Tifinagh, calqued on Latin transcriptions of Berber, which was considered to represent the age-old script of the Berbers. The script received official status in 2003 in Morocco, when it was chosen as the standard to be used in Berber education, as promoted by the *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM) in Rabat.

Among the many transcription practices of Tarifit in Latin script, one can discern a number of tendencies. These will be summarized as follows:

1. The “scientific” transcription. This transcription aims at a full representation of all phonemic contrasts. Some transcriptions of this type are closer to underlying phonological representations, while others try to capture the phonetics to some extent.
2. The “agreed” standard Latin orthography. This orthography was proposed and accepted by members of the Riffian scientific community in Utrecht (Netherlands) in 1996 and summarized in Lafkoui (2000). The orthography is strongly phonological and sometimes historical, and aims at convergence with other Berber languages, at least in writing conventions. Thus, some typical Tarifit sound changes are not represented. The result is a system that many native speakers find difficult to apply, because some contrasts are made, which do not exist in Tarifit (e.g. one should write *kal* or even *akal* ‘earth’ instead of the general Tarifit form *šaɾ*), while other contrasts that exist in Tarifit are obliterated (e.g. the difference between *ɾmaɾ* ‘cattle’ and *lmal* ‘capital’, which are both written *lmal*). In spite of its “agreed” status, this orthography has hardly ever been implemented in practice, and the few attempts are often riddled with errors, or have added some additional marking in order to make the phonological structure of the words retrievable (e.g. Kossmann 2004).

² For a recent synthesis, see Dominique Casajus, *L'alphabet touareg* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2015).

The neo-Tifinagh writing system has basically the same orthographic conventions as the "agreed" orthography, but uses different graphemes.

3. The "practical" Latin orthography. In practice, many writers use an orthography which is derived from the "agreed" orthography, but which does not take over the main problems it poses to native writers and readers. Thus, many authors do not write spirantization (see 2.3.1), similar to the "agreed" orthography, but write *ř* as *r* or *ř* rather than *l*.

4. In addition to the above orthographies used in printed literature, Tarifiyt is written on the internet. While there are a number of conventions that many users adhere to (esp. the use of < 9 > for *q*, of < 3 > for *ε* and of < 7 > for *h*), spelling is highly individual and variable, and depends to a large degree on other orthographies that the writers have learned, e.g. Dutch orthography in the Netherlands, and French orthography in Morocco.

The following table presents the Tarifiyt system according to (idealized versions of) the three main orthographies outlined above, to which the Moroccan neo-Tifinagh system is added. The question of *r* and *ř* will be treated in 2.3.6 and 2.3.7.

IPA	"Scientific" transcription	"Agreed" orthography	"Practical" transcription	Neo-Tifinagh
[a],[æ] = /a/	a	a	a	ⵏ
i	i	i	i	ⵉ
u	u	u	u	ⵓ
ə	e (also: ə)	e	e	(8)
b	b	b	b	ⵇ
β	<u>b</u>	b	b	ⵇ
d	d	d	d	ⵏ
ð	<u>d</u>	d	d	ⵏ
d ^h	ḏ	ḏ	ḏ	ⵎ
ð ^h	ḏ	ḏ	ḏ	ⵎ
ɟʒ	dž (also: ğ)	ll	dj, ğ	ⵎⵎ
f	f	f	f	ⵑ
g	g	g	g	ⵔ

$g:w$	gg^w	gg^w	gg^w, gg^w	$\mathbb{X}\mathbb{X}^w$
γ	γ (also: \dot{g})	γ	γ, gh	Υ
\bar{h}	h	h	h	Φ
\bar{h}	\bar{h}	\bar{h}	\bar{h}	Λ
j	y	y	y	\mathcal{Y}
k	k	k	k	\mathcal{K}
\mathcal{C}	\underline{k}	k	k	\mathcal{K}
$k:w$	kk^w	kk^w	kk^w, kk^w	$\mathcal{K}\mathcal{K}^w$
l	l	l	l	\mathbb{H}
m	m	m	m	\mathbb{C}
n	n	n	n	l
η	η	n	n	l
p	p	p	p	\mathcal{Z}
p^s	\dot{p} (also p)	p	p	\mathcal{Z}
q	q	q	q	\mathbb{Z}
r	r	r	r	\mathcal{O}
r^s	\dot{r}	$r \sim \dot{r}$	r	\mathcal{Q}
r	\check{r}	l	r	\mathbb{H}
s	s	s	s	\mathcal{O}
s^s	\mathcal{S}	\mathcal{S}	\mathcal{S}	\mathcal{O}
\int	\mathcal{S} (also: c)	c	c	\mathcal{C}
\int^s	\mathcal{S}	c	c	\mathcal{C}
t	t	t	t	$+$
θ	\underline{t}	t	t	$+$
t^s	\dot{t}	\dot{t}	\dot{t}	\mathbb{E}

tʃ	č (also: tš)	lt, č	tc	tt
w	w	w	w	ll
x	x	x	x	ʃ
z	z	z	z	ʒ
z ^h	z	z	z	ʒ
ʒ	ž (also: j)	j	j	ɪ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	
ʕ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ (rarely: â)	ɪ

In this book, we shall use a scientific transcription which is relatively close to phonetic realization. As it is geared towards non-native speakers, the choice of a phonetically transparent transcription was preferred over the other systems.

2.2 Vowels

The vowel system of Tarifiyt consists of three full vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, and one central vowel, schwa [ə]. The full vowels are known as “plain vowels” in Berber studies.

Vowel phonemes	
i	u
(ə)	
a	

Following the tradition in the field, schwa is written here *e*. The three plain vowels have lowered and somewhat more backed variants in the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants (cf. Louali & Puech, 1997; 1998). The vocalization of *r* has brought about more vowel qualities, for which, see 2.3.7.

Phonetic values of the plain vowels under different conditions					
non-pharyngealized		pharyngealized		with vocalized *r	
i	o	i ^h	o ^h	ɛa	ɔa
ɛ		a ^h		a ~ æ	

The central vowel schwa is often assimilated to adjacent consonants; it is pronounced like a short central vowel [ə] before w, like short [ɔ] before y, and like short [ɐ] in the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants, uvulars, and pharyngeals. Depending on context and speech tempo, schwa may be shortened to the extreme or not pronounced at all, e.g. *tamettut* [θamtː.ʊθ] 'woman'.

Schwa has a special status in Berber. While speakers normally have clear opinions about where there is a schwa and where not, it is quite often absent in actual pronunciation, especially in fast speech. The transcription here reflects the native speaker intuitions about the presence of schwa; in actual pronunciation, there are less schwas to be heard.

Schwa never occurs in open syllables. When due to morphological processes or otherwise it would be expected to stand in an open syllable, it is either deleted, or the final consonant is geminated. The latter process only applies before vowel-initial clitics. It concerns noun stems with deictic clitics or the 1SG possessive, e.g. *iřes* 'tongue', *iřess-a* 'this tongue', *iřess inu* 'my tongue'. It also concerns verbal inflectional suffixes, e.g. *ssfehmey* 'I made understand', *ssfehme-y-as* 'I made him understand' (gemination in the 1SG suffix -ey). In other cases, schwa is deleted. When the deletion of schwa leads to a sequence of three single consonants, a new schwa is inserted into this cluster, leading to resyllabification of the word, e.g. *yessefhem* 'he explained' (in this word there is no suffix) vs. *yessfehm-as* 'he explained to him'. This also happens over word boundaries, e.g. *yessefhem ayyaw inu* > *yessfehm ayyaw inu* 'he made my grandson understand'.

Most scholars consider schwa to be sub-phonemic, as its presence is largely predictable from the structure of the word. According to this analysis, it is inserted from right to left by means of a simple rule "insert schwa between two consonants" and a simple constraint "never insert schwa so that it forms an open syllable". E.g., *yessefhem* would come from underlying *yssfhm* by the following derivation (ø means that the insertion is blocked by the open-syllable constraint):

yssfhm > *yssfhem* > *yssføhem* > *yssfehem* > *yessefhem*

Similarly with *yessefhem-as*:

yssfmmas > *yssfømmas* > *yssfehmas* > *yessfehmas*

While alluring by its simplicity, the rule has too many exceptions to be maintained as such. Thus there are some forms, which have a structure (C)eCC, which would be impossible according to the derivation (it should be CCeC), e.g. *yexs* 'he wants' instead of ***ixes* and *řweřt* 'center' instead of ***řewřet*. Moreover, one notes the difference between the Berber nominal F:SG suffix -t/-t, which is not preceded by schwa, and the plural imperative suffix -et, which has schwa, e.g. *řiyemest* 'tooth' (not: ***řiyemset*) vs. *řemset* 'wrap! (plural)' (not: ***řmest*).

The opinion that schwa is not phonemic is reflected in neo-Tifinagh orthography, which writes schwa (e) only under a few specific circumstances. In the orthography used here, schwa is always written.

2.3 Consonants

2.3.1 Stops and spirantized consonants

The stops /b/, /d/, /ð/, /t/, /g/ and /k/ are relatively rare in Tarifiyt, except in a number of environments:

- when geminated, e.g. *yeddaa* 'he lives'
- after *n*, e.g. *yenḍu* 'he jumped'
- in word-final clusters, e.g. *tafunast* 'cow'

In other environments, one finds lenis pronunciations, known as "spirantization" in Berber studies. Such sounds are fricatives, which (if possible) have an articulation place more to the front of the mouth. In this book, following general Berber tradition, spirantization is marked by a bar underneath the letter. Spirantized sounds are the following:

- $\underset{\bar{}}{b}$ ([β]) A voiced bilabial fricative
- $\underset{\bar{}}{d}$ ([ð]) A voiced (inter)dental fricative, as *th* in English *though*, Arabic ذ
- $\underset{\bar{}}{ḍ}$ ([ð̣]) A voiced pharyngealized ("emphatic") (inter)dental fricative, as in some pronunciations of Standard Arabic ظ
- $\underset{\bar{}}{t}$ ([θ]) A voiceless (inter)dental fricative, as *th* in English *thing*, Arabic ث
- $\underset{\bar{}}{k}$ ([ç]) A voiceless palatal flat fricative, as *ch* in Standard German *ich*. In Nador Tarifiyt, this consonant has mostly become š [ʃ], and occurs only in a few words, e.g. *seksu* 'couscous'.

In intervocalic position, $\underset{\bar{}}{t}$ is sometimes pronounced as *h*.

To a large extent, stops and spirantized consonants are in complementary distribution. This is the reason that most transcription systems write them the same. However, there are exceptions to this distribution, which make it necessary to distinguish the two sets as different phonemes. The exceptions are of two types:

1. Simplified geminates. Some originally geminated consonants have become simplified, but do not undergo spirantization. This is the case, for instance, of the past marker *tuya* which is derived from earlier *ttuya* (as attested in other Tarifiyt dialects). Similarly the verbal deictic marker *d* 'hither' is derived from earlier *dd*.³
2. There are quite a number of loanwords which have simple stops in contexts where one would expect spirantization, e.g. *řbanku* 'bank (financial institution)' (< Spanish *banco*), *lwelda* 'womb' (< Moroccan Arabic *l-welda*), *atay* 'tea' (< Moroccan Arabic *atay*), *gewwed* 'to lead' (< Moroccan Arabic *gewwed*), *muka* 'owl' (< Moroccan Arabic *muka*), *kisu* 'cheese' (< Spanish *queso*).

There are other exceptional cases, such as *agemmiz* 'cheek', *amezḍag* 'clean', *kenniw* 'you (masculine plural)', *tikeḍfet* (also *tiḥḍfet*) 'ant', *takešša* 'worm'.

³ In "agreed" orthography, in such cases the (historical) geminate is written, i.e., *ttuya*, *dd*.

Exceptions abound with *k* and *g*, and are relatively common with *d* and *t*. Exceptions concerning *b* and *ḡ* are very rare. In Nador Tarifiyt, as in many other varieties of Tarifiyt (cf. Lafkioui 2007:41ff.), spirantized *ḡ* ([j]) has become *y* and *k* ([ç]) has become *š*, e.g., *uyua* instead of *uḡua* 'walk!' and *išarri* instead of *iḡarri* 'ram'.

There are a few minimal pairs showing the difference between spirantized and non-spirantized consonants, e.g. *tiṛi* 'shadow' vs. *tiṛi* 'probably'.

Due to the many exceptions, therefore, the difference between stops and spirantized consonants will be written consistently in this book, also for consonants where the complementary distribution is almost perfect.

2.3.2 Pharyngealization ("emphasis")

Most dental and alveolar consonants occur in pairs of plain and pharyngealized phonemes. Pharyngealization is the phonetic term for what is called emphasis in Arabic studies. The following pharyngealized phonemes exist:

ḍ ([ð ^ʕ])	voiced pharyngealized interdental fricative, Standard Arabic ط
ḍ ([d ^ʕ])	voiced pharyngealized alveolar stop, Arabic ض
ṭ ([t ^ʕ])	voiceless pharyngealized alveolar stop, Arabic ط
ẓ ([z ^ʕ])	voiced pharyngealized alveolar sibilant, Standard Arabic [Egyptian pronunciation] ظ
ṣ ([s ^ʕ])	voiceless pharyngealized alveolar sibilant, Arabic ص
ṣ̣ ([ʃ ^ʕ])	voiceless pharyngealized post-palatal sibilant
ṛ ([r ^ʕ])	voiced pharyngealized alveolar tap
l̤ ([l ^ʕ])	voiced pharyngealized alveolar lateral approximant, like in Arabic الله
ḥ ([p ^ʕ])	voiceless pharyngealized bilabial stop, only in loanwords from Spanish, e.g. <i>ḥabu</i> 'turkey'

Pharyngealization is a spreading feature, that is to say, in words which contain a pharyngealized consonant, other sounds are pharyngealized too. Thus, a word like *nzum* 'we fasted' is pronounced *nẓum̤*. Among phonemes that are inherently pharyngealized, only *ḍ/ḍ*, *ẓ*, and *ṛ* are common in roots with a Berber etymology; the others mainly occur in loans from Arabic or Spanish. Pharyngealized *l̤* is rare, cf. *wel̤leh* 'lol', *l̤baḷa* 'shovel', while unconditioned *ṣ̣* seems to be restricted to the nouns *uṣṣa* 'greyhound' and *muṣṣ* 'cat'.

2.3.3 Back consonants

Tarifiyt Berber has the following consonants in the uvular and pharyngeal domain:

ɣ [ɣ, ʁ]	voiced back-velar/uvular fricative, Arabic غ
x [x, χ]	voiceless back-velar/uvular fricative, Arabic خ

q [q]	voiceless uvular stop, Arabic ق
ε [ʕ]	voiced pharyngeal fricative, Arabic ع
ħ [ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative, Arabic ح
h [ħ]	voiced laryngeal fricative, Arabic ه

y is similar in pronunciation to the “r grasseyé” of French and initial /r/ in most varieties of German and Dutch. x is the same sound as the German and Dutch <ch> in *lachen*. Voiced h is similar to h in German and Dutch, but different from English h (as in *how*), which is voiceless. There are no phonetic equivalents to q, ε and ħ in western European languages.

2.3.4 ŋ

The sound ŋ (English *ng* as in *king*) is exclusively attested before the consonant w and may be considered an assimilatory variant of n, e.g. *yewwa* ‘it cooked’; *ɣwaman* < n *waman* ‘of the water’. Note that the assimilation does not take place when n is geminated, e.g. *nnwqa* ‘flours’.

2.3.5 gg^w and kk^w

Labialized consonants are made by rounding the lips during the pronunciation of the consonant. In Tarifiyt, they only occur with the geminates gg^w and kk^w, e.g. *aɣegg^waʔ* ‘father-in-law’, *yeddakk^waʔ* ‘he always goes back’.

2.3.6 l and ʃ

In the history of Tarifiyt *l changed to ʃ and its geminated counterpart *ll became dʒ⁴. In most Tarifiyt dialects, ʃ is pronounced very similar to r, and mainly distinguished from it by its lack of influence on surrounding vowels (see 2.3.7). In some dialects, however, it is more clearly distinguished because ʃ is rolled, while r is a tap, or because ʃ is palatalized (similar to English r), while r is not.

These sound changes are behind seemingly irregular pairs such as in *yeqʃa* ‘he fried’ vs. *iqedʒa* ‘he always fries’. The latter form is a imperfective with gemination of ʃ. Moreover, they make loanwords less transparent, e.g. *dʒiʃet* ‘night’ < Moroccan Arabic *l-lila*. Due to later borrowing, l and ll have been reintroduced into the language. Thus the loan *ʃmaʃ* ‘cattle’ (< Moroccan Arabic *l-mal* ‘the capital, the property’) is doubled by a later loan from the same source, *lmal* ‘capital’.

2.3.7 r and rr

The rhotics r and rr have undergone important changes in Tarifiyt. The rules for these changes are different according to the dialect and the subdialect (Lafkioui 2007:29ff.). In the dialect of Nador (and in many other varieties), r is vocalized with an a-like sound when not immediately followed by a vowel /a/, /i/ or /u/. The effect resembles the vowel-like pronunciation of r in many

⁴ The original pronunciation is preserved in the easternmost varieties of Tarifiyt, Kebdana and Beni Iznasen.

varieties of German. The effect of the vocalization is mainly a change in the pronunciation of the preceding vowel. In some dialects, the resulting sound is longer than normal vowels. In this book the vocalized /r/ is written as an *a* following the basic vowel of the word, i.e. /ar/ (< *er and *ar) is written *aa*, /ur/ is written *ua*, and /ir/ is written *ia*. Similarly, vocalized pronunciations of pharyngealized /r/ are written by means of the sign *a*, i.e. /ar/ = *aa*, /ur/ = *ua*, /ir/ = *ia*.

When *r* follows *a* or (historical) schwa, the result is a front vowel [a] or [æ]. This pronunciation is lower than the pronunciation of *a when not followed by a rhotic (which is [ɛ]), but more to the front than the pronunciation of *a in pharyngealized contexts (which is [aʕ]), e.g.

*yekker	>	yekkaa	=	[jək:a]	'he stood up'
*yekka	>	yekka	=	[jək:ɛ]	'he passed'
*yebda	>	yebda	=	[jəβʕəʕaʕ]	'he divided'

When *r* follows *u*, the result is a diphthong [ɔa] (sometimes almost like [wa:]), e.g. *šurdu > šuaðu [ʃɔaðu] ~ [ʃwa:ðu] 'flea'. When *r* follows *i*, the result is a diphthong [ɛa] (sometimes almost like [ja]), e.g. *irðen > iaðen [ɛaðən] 'wheat'.

In urban Nador, /ir/ is often pronounced *aa* rather than *ia*, except in word-initial position. With /ur/ this is only common in the pronunciation of the name of the city, *nnaðuq* > *nnaðaa*.

When *r* is not syllable-final, i.e. when it is followed immediately by a vowel, it is pronounced as a tap (similar to the *r* of Spanish *pero* 'but'). It still has influence on the preceding vowel, especially on *a*, thus *ar* is pronounced [ar] rather than [ɛr]. This constitutes the main pronunciation difference between intervocalic *r* and ř, e.g.

<i>ari</i>	=	[ari]	'esparto grass'
<i>aři</i>	=	[ɛri] ~ [ɛri]	'go up!'

Geminated *rr* is pronounced as a trill (like in Spanish *perro* 'dog'). It has the same effect on preceding vowels as single *r*, e.g. *išerri > išarri [iʃari] 'ram', as opposed to šar [ʃɛr] ~ [ʃɛr] 'earth'. Pharyngealized *r* and ř have a similar fate as their non-pharyngealized counterparts. Like with other pharyngealized consonants, vowels surrounding ř are lowered considerably, e.g. *řferq > řfaqq [rfaʕq] 'difference'.

2.3.8 Geminated consonants

Geminated (or tense) consonants are represented by double consonants. They are pronounced longer than single consonants. Geminataion is found as a stable feature in stems, but it can also be the result of assimilation or morphological processes. These last two circumstances allow us to establish pairs of plain vs. geminated consonants. For a number of consonants, a geminate is only different from its plain counterpart because of its length, e.g. *n* [n] vs. *nn* [nː].

Spirantized consonants have long stops as their geminate correspondents, e.g. *yezdey* 'he lives' vs. *izeddey* (with [dː]) 'he always lives'. Long spirantized

consonants only occur in a few specific phonotactic environments, where they are used to preserve schwa in open syllables, e.g., in verb suffixes before vowel-initial clitics, *tessfehmedd-as* 'you made him understand' with gemination in the suffix *-ed* before the Indirect object pronoun *as*.

A number of consonants have divergent geminated counterparts:

ḍ/ḍ	↔	tt	<i>yenḍu</i> 'he jumped' vs. <i>inetṭu</i> 'he always jumps'
w	↔	kk ^w	<i>yedweř</i> 'he became' vs. <i>yeddakk^wař</i> 'he always becomes'
ʃ	↔	qq	<i>yenya</i> 'he killed' vs. <i>ineqq</i> 'he always kills'
ř	↔	dž	<i>yemřeř</i> 'he married' vs. <i>imedžeř</i> 'he always marries'

The existence of such divergent counterparts in morphology does not rule out the possibility of having regular geminated forms in stems (except with *ř*). This is very common with *ww*, e.g. *ařewwaf* 'hair'. It rarely occurs with *yy* and *ḍḍ*, e.g. *iyyed* 'ashes', *wedḍaḍa* 'to be lost'.

2.3.9 Semivowels and high vowels

Different from some other Berber languages, in Tarifiyt the semivowels *w* and *y* are well distinguished from the high vowels *u* and *i*, e.g. *yewzen* 'he weighed' vs. *yudef* 'he came in'. In a number of circumstances, the opposition is neutralized, however:

1. *ye* and *we* become *i* and *u*, respectively, if the *e* would otherwise stand in an open syllable, e.g. *yefhem* 'he understood' vs. *ifehm-as* 'he understood him'
2. in word-final position, *ey* and *ew* become *i* and *u*, respectively, e.g.

**yuřey* > *yuři* 'he went up' (cf. *uřyen* 'they went up')

**yendew* > *yenḍu* 'he jumped' (cf. *neḍwen* 'they jumped')

2.4 Consonant assimilations

2.4.1 Lack of spirantization in word-final consonant clusters

In Iqerfiyen Tarifiyt, the final element of a word-final consonant cluster does not undergo spirantization, e.g. *taeeddist* 'belly'. The rule only applies on word level. It does not apply to the direct object clitic *t*, which preserves its spirantized pronunciation, e.g. *zřixt* (< **zřiy-t*) 'I saw him', *yiwyast* (< *yiwy-as-t*) 'he brought it to him'. Similarly, the adjunction of a vowel-initial clitic does not undo the despirantization, e.g. we have *taeeddist-a* 'this belly', not *taeeddist-a*.

Vocalized /*r*/ does not count as a consonant in the application of this rule, and therefore word-final **rt* preserves spirantization, e.g. *taammuṛt* 'country' (< **taammurt*). Elsewhere in Tarifiyt, the rule does not apply, and word-final clusters with spirantized consonants are extremely common, e.g. neighboring Ayt Scid: *taeeddist* 'belly'.

2.4.2 Assimilations with *ṭ* and *t*

Consonants preceding the *ṭ/t* feminine suffix on nouns often undergo assimilations. Voiced fricatives become voiceless before *ṭ/t*. Remark that, as shown in the preceding paragraph, spirantization is absent in word-final clusters; therefore most examples below have final *ṭ* rather than *ṭ*.

<i>b + ṭ > ft/ft</i>	<i>tažedžaft</i> (< * <i>tažedžaḅṭ</i>)	'gown (djellaba)'
<i>z + ṭ > st/st</i>	<i>talwist</i> (< * <i>talwiẓṭ</i>)	'gold coin'
<i>ʒ + ṭ > ṣṭ/ṣṭ</i>	<i>tayaq̣aẓ̌isṭ</i> (< * <i>tayaq̣aẓ̌iẓṭ</i>)	'hare'
<i>ʒ + ṭ > ṣ̌ṭ/ṣ̌ṭ</i>	<i>taeẓ̌žašṭ</i> (< * <i>taeẓ̌žaẓ̌ṭ</i>)	'dust'
<i>y + ṭ > xṭ/xṭ</i>	<i>ṭmazix̣ṭ</i> (< * <i>ṭmaziẓ̌ṭ</i>)	'Berber language'
	<i>ẓrix̣ṭ</i> (< * <i>ẓriỵ-ṭ</i>)	'I saw him'
<i>ε + ṭ > hṭ/hṭ</i>	<i>ṭqubehṭ</i> (< * <i>ṭqubeč̣ṭ</i>)	'little bird'

When *ṭ* is preceded by *y*, the approximant changes to *ṣ̌*, e.g.

<i>y + ṭ > ṣ̌ṭ/ṣ̌ṭ</i>	<i>taqeṛ̌ešṭ</i> (< * <i>taqeṛ̌eỵṭ</i>)	'Iqeriyen woman'
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When *ṭ* is preceded by one of the following dental and alveolar consonants, the result is a long voiceless alveolar stop. When the first consonant is pharyngealized, the result of the assimilation is pharyngealized too, e.g.

<i>ḡ + ṭ > tṭ</i>	<i>taḡriṭṭ</i> (< * <i>taḡriḡṭṭ</i>)	'path'
	<i>ṭtamyaṭṭ</i> (< <i>ḡ ṭamyaṭṭ</i>)	'it is a woman'
<i>d + ṭ > tṭ</i>	<i>attaẉi</i> (< * <i>a d-ṭaẉi</i>)	'she will bring here'
<i>ḡ + ṭ > ṭṭ</i>	<i>tyaẓ̌iṭ̣ṭ</i> (< * <i>tyaẓ̌iḡṭṭ</i>)	'hen'

When preceded by *m*, one gets a plosive pronunciation of *t*, *d*, *ḡ*, and *m* becomes *n*.

<i>m + ṭ > nṭ</i>	<i>taxxanṭ</i> (< * <i>ṭaxxamṭ</i>)	'small room' ⁵
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When *ṭ* is preceded by *ṛ̌*, the result is *č̣*:

<i>ṛ̌ + ṭ > č̣</i>	<i>tamedžač̣</i> (< * <i>tamedžaṛ̌ṭ</i>)	'egg' ⁶
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These assimilations are most conspicuous in the formation of feminine nouns by means of the suffix *-ṭ*; in such cases, the original consonant can be made out from the plural, e.g.

<i>tamedžač̣ - ṭimedžaṛ̌in</i>	'egg - eggs'
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The assimilations have also occurred inside lexical items in which the **ṭ* is part of the stem and not a suffix; in such cases only comparison with other languages can show they took place, cf. the following loanwords:

⁵ An exception is provided by *ṛ̌emtuṛ̌* 'proverbs'.

⁶ The only exception is the numeral *teṛ̌ṭ* as in *teṛ̌ṭ iyyam* 'three days'.

sseft	'Saturday'	(< Moroccan Arabic ssebt)
zzešt	'oil'	(< Moroccan Arabic zzejt)
xači	'my maternal aunt'	(< Moroccan Arabic xalt-i)

2.4.3 Lack of spirantization after alveolar nasals

After alveolar nasals, spirantized labials and dentals become stops. This also occurs between words, e.g.

tyennžen dinni	>	tyennžen dinni	'they sing there'
a kisen tešš	>	a kisen tešš	'she would eat with them'
izžen tmeṭṭut	>	izžen tmeṭṭut	'a woman'
baḥa-s n thenziat	>	baḥa-s n thenziat	'the father of the girl'

In the transcriptions in this book, assimilations between words will not be written.

2.4.4 Other consonant assimilations

Especially with the predicative particle *d* (see 13.5) one often finds assimilation to a following *n*:

<i>d</i> + <i>n</i> > <i>nn</i> (facultative)	<i>n nešš</i> ~ <i>d nešš</i>	'it's me'
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In addition, there are a number of irregular assimilations which take place when the preverbal element *ad* is followed by a subject prefix of the verb (see 7.1.1). In this case, *d* assimilates to *t* and *n* according to regular assimilations, but the result is a short consonant rather than a long one, e.g.

<i>a tefey</i>	<	<i>ad tefey</i>	'she will go out' ⁷
<i>a neffey</i>	<	<i>ad neffey</i>	'we will go out'

When the 3SG Indirect object pronoun *as* is followed by the deictic clitic *d*, it may be pronounced *az*, e.g.

<i>yiwy-az-d</i> ~ <i>yiwy-as-d</i>	'he brought to him over here'
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With the prepositions *di* 'in' and *zzi*, there is assimilation of the final *i* to a following *i* or *y*. The result is *gg*, e.g.

<i>degg ifri</i> (< * <i>di yifri</i>)	'in the cave'
<i>zzegg dūraa</i> (< <i>zzi idūraa</i>)	'from the mountains'

When these prepositions are followed by a noun starting in *w* or *u*, the assimilation leads to a form *gg**, e.g.

<i>degg* funas</i> (< * <i>di ufunas</i>)	'in the ox'
<i>zegg* draa</i> (< * <i>zi wedraa</i>)	'from the mountain'

In Tarifit varieties spoken more to the west, this is also found in constructions with the relative particle *i* and with the question word *wi* 'who', e.g.

<i>igg ffyen</i> (Nador: <i>i yeffyen</i>)	'that has gone out'
<i>wigg nnan</i> (Nador: <i>wi yennan</i>)	'who said'

⁷ Atteffey would rather be the pronunciation of *a d-teffey* 'she will go out hither'.

2.4.5 Irregular variations of *n* 'of' and *ižžen* 'one'

The preposition *n* 'of' and the numeral *ižžen* 'one, a' present a number of irregularities depending on the form of the following noun:

- when followed by *u* or *i*, *n* is not pronounced, e.g.

taddaat uzedžid 'the house of the king'

house / [of] / king^{AS}

ameddukeř uma 'a friend of my brother'

friend^{FS} / [of] / my.brother

ša imendi 'some barley'

some / [of] / barley

ižž uzedžid 'a king'

one / king^{AS}

- by regular assimilation, when followed by *w*, *n* is pronounced *ŋ*, e.g.

šwayt ŋ weysum 'a little bit of meat'

little.bit / of / meat^{AS}

- when followed by a labial, a velar or a pharyngeal continuant, or by *l*, *n* undergoes complete assimilation (cf. Chami 1979:80ff), e.g.

m midden 'of (other) people'

fFadma 'of Fadma'

p pulisiyya 'of the police'

x xači 'of my maternal aunt'

h henna 'of my grandmother'

ε enti 'of my paternal aunt'

l lalla 'of my mistress'

- *ř* is assimilated to *n*, e.g.

n řebħaa > n nebħaa 'of the sea'

of / sea

ižžen řebħaa > ižžen nebħaa 'a sea'

one / sea

In other Tarifiyt dialects, *ř* changes to *ğ* in this context, and one has *n řebħaa > n ġebħaa*.

3. The noun

3.1 The basic structure of Tarifiyt nouns

3.1.1 Introduction

In Tarifiyt, the class of nouns includes adjectives; adjectives are morphologically the same as nouns, they only differ somewhat with respect to their syntactic behavior (see 11.2).

Tarifiyt nouns can be classified in three morphological classes:

Class I	Nouns with Berber affixes
Class II	Nouns with Arabic morphology
Class III	Nouns without affixes

Class I is the largest. It consists of the great majority of nouns with a Berber etymology, as well as a fair number of loanwords from Arabic and European languages. Moreover, almost all adjectives belong in this class. The category of nouns with Arabic morphology consists of loanwords from Arabic, as well as many loans from European languages. The third category consists of basic kinship terms and a few other nouns.

Tarifiyt nouns distinguish three categories: gender, number and case/state. Adjectives and verbs agree with the noun in gender and number, but not in state.

In this chapter, we will first give an overview of the main categories that are expressed in the noun, gender, number, and state. This will be followed by an overview of how these categories are expressed in morphology. While the part on categories will concern nouns of all classes together, the part on morphology will keep the different morphological classes apart.

3.1.2 Gender

Tarifiyt has two genders, masculine and feminine. In countable nouns of Class I (nouns with Berber affixes), gender is derivative: in principle, every masculine noun has a feminine counterpart. With humans and higher animals, masculine and feminine mark natural gender, e.g.

<i>aḥenḏia</i> (M)	'boy'	<i>ṭaḥenḏiaṭ</i> (F)	'girl'
<i>ayyaw</i> (M)	'grandson'	<i>ṭayyawt</i> (F)	'granddaughter' ⁸

⁸ *ayyaw* - *ṭayyawt* mainly denote relatives linked to oneself through the female line: sister's-child, paternal aunt's-child. When referring to grandchildren, it was originally restricted to daughter's children, but nowadays it is also used for son's children, cf. Raymond Jamous, *Honneur & baraka. Les structures sociales traditionnelles dans le Rif* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981), pp. 261-262.

<i>asaadun</i> (M)	'male mule'	<i>tasaadunt</i> (F)	'female mule'
<i>afunas</i> (M)	'ox'	<i>tafunast</i> (F)	'cow'

For a few basic items, there exist suppletive pairs, e.g.

<i>aayaz</i> (M)	'man'	<i>tamyaaṭ</i> (F)	'woman'
<i>amyan</i> (M)	'he-goat'	<i>tyaṭṭ</i> (F)	'she-goat'
<i>išarri</i> (M)	'ram'	<i>tiṣsi</i> (F)	'ewe'
<i>yis</i> (M)	'horse'	<i>řcawda</i> (F)	'mare' ⁹

This is especially the case among Class III nouns, e.g.

<i>uma</i> (M)	'my brother'	<i>učma</i> (F)	'my sister'
<i>baḥa</i> (M)	'my father'	<i>yemma</i> (F)	'my mother'
<i>žeddi</i> (M)	'my grandfather'	<i>ḥenna</i> (F)	'my grandmother'

With lower animals (non-domesticated birds, insects and the like), and with inanimate nouns, masculine denotes a larger entity than feminine. In most cases, one gender is assigned to the basic meaning of the noun, while the other gender expresses a remarkably big (if masculine) or small (if feminine) exemplar, e.g.

<i>tiṭṭ</i> (F)	'(normally-sized) eye'	<i>aṭṭaw</i> (M)	'big eye'
<i>fus</i> (M)	'(normally sized) hand'	<i>tfust</i> (F)	'baby hand'

In other cases, it is difficult to assign a basic gender value to a noun: masculine and feminine simply denote differently sized objects, e.g.

<i>ayenža</i>	'ladle'	<i>ṭayenžašt</i>	'spoon'
<i>akeššud</i>	'big stick'	<i>ṭakeššutṭ</i>	'small stick, toothpick'
<i>aqbuš</i>	'big water jar'	<i>ṭaqbušt</i>	'small water jar'

In a few cases, especially with pots and pans, the larger item has Class II masculine morphology, while the smaller item takes Class I feminine morphology:

<i>řmaqra</i>	'big frying pan'	<i>tmaqrat</i>	'small frying pan'
<i>řkas</i>	'glass'	<i>ṭkasešt</i>	'small glass'
<i>maḥmiṭa</i>	'big pan'	<i>tmaḥmiṭat</i>	'small pan'
<i>řbit</i>	'room'	<i>ṭbitešt</i>	'small room'

Finally, feminine gender is used to denote language names, and, in a few cases, typical behavior, e.g.

<i>tmazixt</i> (F)	'Berber language, Berber woman' (cf. <i>mazi</i> 'Berber man')
<i>taeraft</i> (F)	'Arabic language, Arabic woman' (cf. <i>aeraḥ</i> 'Arab man')
<i>tašpanyut</i> (F)	'Spanish language, Spanish woman' (cf. <i>ašpanyu</i> 'Spanish man')
<i>taayast</i> (F)	'courage' (cf. <i>aayaz</i> 'man')

On the use of gender in making the difference between collectives and unity nouns, see below.

⁹ In addition, the regular pair *akidaa* (M) - *ṭakidaat* (F) is used.

3.1.3 Number

Tarifiyt countable nouns distinguish a singular from a plural, e.g.

<i>aḥenžia</i> (SG)	'boy'	<i>iḥenžian</i> (PL)	'boys'
<i>ṭaḥenžiaṭ</i> (F)	'girl'	<i>ṭiḥenžirin</i> (PL)	'girls'

A few nouns have suppletive plurals:

<i>uma</i> (SG)	'my brother'	<i>ayeṭma</i> (PL)	'my brothers'
<i>učma</i> (SG)	'my sister'	<i>issma</i> (PL)	'my sisters'

Mass nouns (e.g. liquids) are either singular or plural; the choice seems to be lexical, and no semantic groups can be discerned, e.g.

<i>ayi</i>	'milk' (SG)
<i>ṛgih</i>	'pus' (SG)
<i>aman</i>	'water' (PL)
<i>iḍammen</i>	'blood' (PL)

Dual number only exists in a few adverbial expressions borrowed from Moroccan Arabic (see 10.1.1), cf.

(during one) X	(during) two X	(during) more than two X
<i>nmḥaq</i> ¹⁰	<i>yumayen</i>	<i>iyyam</i>
<i>šḥaq</i>	<i>šeḥrayen</i>	<i>šḥuq</i>
<i>εam</i>	<i>εamayen</i>	<i>snin</i>

There exist a number of nouns which have a triple distinction. These nouns distinguish a collective form (grammatically singular) from forms denoting a unit (both singular and plural possible). Collective nouns refer to a collection of items or objects presented as a whole. By applying Berber feminine morphology, the unity noun is formed, which refers to individuated items. Collective and unity nouns are mostly, but not exclusively, found in the semantic domains of fruits, vegetables, trees and plants. Normally, collective nouns are masculine singulars belonging to Class II (nouns with Arabic morphology), while unit nouns are feminines belonging to Class I (nouns with Berber morphology).

Collective	Unit noun (SG)	Unit noun (PL)	
<i>ṛbašua</i>	<i>ṭbašuaṭ</i>	<i>ṭiḥbašuarin</i>	'fig'
<i>ṛebṣeṛ</i>	<i>ṭabṣeṭ</i>	<i>ṭiḥeṣṣrin</i>	'onion'
<i>ṛfeṛfeṛ</i>	<i>ṭifeṛfeṭ</i>	<i>ṭifeṛṛrin</i>	'paprika'
<i>ddellie</i>	<i>ṭadelliḥt</i>	<i>ṭidelliein</i>	'watermelon'
<i>ṣṣabun</i>	<i>ṭṣabunt</i>	<i>ṭiṣabunin</i>	'soap'
<i>tteffah</i>	<i>ṭateffaḥt</i>	<i>ṭiteffaḥin</i>	'apple'
<i>nnewwaš</i>	<i>ṭanewwašt</i>	<i>ṭinewwašin</i>	'plant (generic term)'
<i>lleššin</i>	<i>ṭaleššint</i>	<i>ṭileššinin</i>	'orange'
<i>llažuq</i>	<i>ṭlažuqṭ</i>	<i>ṭilažuqrin</i>	'brick'
<i>lbanan</i>	<i>ṭḥananṭ</i>	<i>ṭiḥananin</i>	'banana'
<i>lfiras</i>	<i>ṭafirast</i>	<i>ṭifirasin</i>	'pear'

¹⁰ With deictic clitics, the form lacks initial gemination, e.g. *nḥar-a* 'today'.

<i>baṭaṭa</i>	<i>tbaṭaṭt</i>	<i>tibaṭaṭaṭin</i>	'potato'
<i>mandarīna</i>	<i>tmandarīnt</i>	<i>tīmandarīnin</i>	'mandarin'
<i>ṭumaṭiš</i>	<i>tṭumaṭiš</i>	<i>tṭumaṭišin</i>	'tomato'
<i>xizzu</i>	<i>tixizzut</i>	<i>tixizzuṭin</i>	'carrot'

In some nouns, the stem of the unit noun is somewhat different from the stem of the collective, e.g.

<i>ššmee</i>	<i>tšumeett</i>	<i>tšumeaṭin</i>	'candle'
<i>ššeer</i>	<i>tašeerēšt</i>	(no plural)	'matches'

3.1.4 State

Class I nouns (nouns with Berber affixes) distinguish two forms, which are related to the syntactic context and function of the noun. In Berber linguistics, these forms are mostly called states. They are, however, different from states in the Semitic sense of the word: while the Semitic states concern the structure of the Noun Phrase (esp. whether the noun is a head followed by a genitival complement or not), in Berber it is mainly about syntactic position. As such, it is more similar to what is called case elsewhere. In order to remain close to Berberological practice, we call the two forms "Free State" (= "état libre") and "Annexed State" (= "état d'annexion").

The Free State is used in the following contexts:

- In isolation, e.g. *aayaz* (FS) 'man'
- As subject or predicate of a non-verbal sentence, e.g.
aayaz-a d ayaw nnes
 man^{FS}-this / PRED / grandson^{FS} / his
 'this man (FS) is his grandson (FS)'
- As a direct object, e.g.
yessawar taspanyut
 he.speaks¹ / Spanish^{FS}
 'he speaks Spanish (FS)'
- As a topicalized element put before the central part of the clause, e.g.
aayaz-enni, yeqqim di barra
 man^{FS}-that / he.stayed^P / in / outside
 'that man (FS), he remained outside'
- After the prepositions *ař* 'until' and *břa* 'without', e.g.
yuzzeř ař aqidun nnes
 he.ran^P / until / tent^{FS} / his
 'he ran until his tent (FS)'
tus-ed břa aayaz nnes
 she.came^P-hither / without / man^{FS} / her
 'she came without her husband (FS)'

The Annexed State is used in the following contexts:

- a. As a non-topicalized subject (following the verb), e.g.

yeqqim waayaz di barra
 he.stayed^P / man^{AS} / in / outside
 'the man (AS) remained outside'

- b. After all prepositions, except *ař* and *břa*, e.g.

baba-s n waayaz
 father-his / of / man^{AS}
 'the father of the man (AS)'

yeššur-it s waman
 he.filled^P-it^{M:DO} / with / water^{AS}
 'he filled it with water (AS)'

- c. As a post-topic, put in extraposition to the central clause (see 14.3), e.g.

d asemmam, uyi-ya
 PRED / sour^{M:SG:FS} / milk^{AS}-this
 'it is sour, this milk' (AS)

- d. After a few pre-nominal elements, see 3.5.

State is only expressed in Class I nouns; the other noun types have no state distinction. A modifying adjective is always in the Free State, whatever the state of the noun it modifies, e.g.

s uyi asemmam
 with / milk^{AS} / sour^{M:SG:FS}
 'with the buttermilk (lit. sour milk)'

n waayaz ameqqran
 of / man^{AS} / big^{M:SG:FS}
 'of the big (FS) man (AS)'

3.2 The morphology of the noun

3.2.1 Class I: Nouns with Berber affixes

As a rule of thumb, nouns belonging to Class I can be recognised by the fact that they start in a plain vowel (*a*, *i* or *u*) or in *t*. There are a few exceptions to this, however. In the first place, the majority of nouns starting in *arr* belong to Class II, as the initial *a* is due to the influence of *r* (cf. 2.3.7). Still, there are a few nouns in *arr* which belong to Class I. Cf. the difference between

<i>arruđ</i> (FS), <i>warruđ</i> (AS)	'clothing'	(Class I)
<i>arriđa</i> (no difference in state)	'love'	(Class II)

In the second place, there is a relatively important group of nouns with stems starting in a consonant which belong to Class I (see below).

The basic structure of nouns with Berber affixes is as follows:

PREFIX-STEM-(SUFFIX)

Gender is expressed by changes in the prefix and the suffix. Number can be expressed in the prefix, the suffix and the stem. State is exclusively expressed in the prefix.

In the following paragraphs the many irregularities in the formation of the noun will be explained. It is, however, useful to give an overview of the most common forms first. The following table lists the different forms of the adjective *ameqqran* 'big':

	SG:M	SG:F	PL:M	PL:F
Free State	<i>ameqqran</i>	<i>tameqqrant</i>	<i>imeqqranen</i>	<i>tmeqqranin</i>
Annexed State	<i>umeqqran</i>	<i>tmeqqrant</i>	<i>imeqqranen</i>	<i>tmeqqranin</i>

3.2.2 Class I: The formation of the feminine

Gender derivation¹¹ is relatively straightforward. The feminine is derived from the masculine form by adding an element *t* to the prefix, as well as the use of special gender suffixes. The feminine singular suffix is mostly *-t*. According to phonological rules, in word-final consonant clusters, *-t* appears as *-t* (For assimilations due to the adjunction of *-t*, see 2.4.2).

<i>azru</i> (M)	'stone'	<i>tazrut</i> (F)	'little stone, battery'
<i>iřef</i> (M)	'boar'	<i>tiřeft</i> (F)	'sow'
<i>azyaw</i> (M)	'big basket'	<i>tazyawt</i> (F)	'basket'
<i>aqiđun</i> (M)	'big tent'	<i>taqiđunt</i> (F)	'tent'

Some words ending in *-u* and *-i* have *-t* instead of *-t*, e.g.

<i>pađu</i> (M)	'male turkey'	<i>tpađu</i> (F)	'turkey'
		<i>tsiřit</i> (F)	'shoe' (cf. PL <i>tisiřa</i>)

In addition, with a fair number of nouns the feminine suffix is *-et*, e.g.

<i>tiažet</i> (F)	'embers'
<i>tšanet</i> (F)	'shop'

Class I words ending in *-a* never get a feminine suffix; gender is only expressed in the prefix. The same is true for a number of words ending in *-i*, e.g.

<i>tamza</i> (F)	'ogress'	<i>tizi</i> (F)	'valley'
<i>tařa</i> (F)	'source'	<i>tiři</i> (F)	'shadow'
<i>tqaaqra</i> (F)	'frog'	<i>timesti</i> (F)	'fire'
<i>tmižza</i> (F)	'throat'	<i>taziri</i> (F)	'full moon'

In a few cases, the masculine has a stem in *-iw*, while the feminine ends in *-a*, e.g.

<i>amziw</i> (M)	'ogre'	<i>tamza</i> (F)	'ogress'
<i>aqaaqriw</i> (M)	'frog'	<i>tqaaqra</i> (F)	'frog'

¹¹ The description and the examples represent the Free State. For the Annexed State, see 3.2.2.

In some cases the feminine adds a semivowel *w* or *y* to the stem, e.g.

<i>aziza</i> (M)	'blue'	<i>tazizawt</i> (F)	'blue'
<i>ayenža</i> (M)	'ladle'	<i>ṭayenžašt</i> (F)	'spoon' (< *ṭayenžayt)

The semivowel reappears in the plural (M and F), e.g. *izizawen* 'blue (PL:M)', *ṭayenžayen* 'ladles' (PL:M).

The feminine plural is derived from the masculine plural by adding *t-* to the prefix (just like the singular), and by changing the masculine plural suffixes *-en* and *-an* in *-in*. When there is no masculine plural suffix (see 3.2.4), there is no feminine plural suffix either. Examples:

<i>aḥnas</i> (SG:M)	<i>iḥnasen</i> (PL:M)	'ox(en)'
<i>ṭaḥnašt</i> (SG:F)	<i>ṭiḥnasin</i> (PL:F)	'cow(s)'
<i>aaḥib</i> (SG:M)	<i>iaḥiben</i> (PL:M)	'stepson(s)'
<i>ṭaaḥišt</i> (SG:F)	<i>ṭiaḥibin</i> (PL:F)	'stepdaughter(s)'
<i>aṣṣem</i> (SG:M)	<i>iṣṣeman</i> (PL:M)	'camel(s)'
<i>ṭaṣṣent</i> (SG:F)	<i>ṭiṣṣemin</i> (PL:F)	'female camel(s)'
<i>aššanyu</i> (SG:M)	<i>iššunya</i> (PL:M)	'Spanish man'
<i>ṭaššanyut</i> (SG:F)	<i>ṭiṣṣunya</i> (PL:F)	'Spanish woman'

3.2.3 Class I: State

State is only expressed in the prefix of Class I nouns. One noun changes its stem shape with the state: *ṭammuaṭ* (FS) – *ṭmuaṭ* (AS) 'country'.

Consonant-initial noun stems occur with two different Free State prefix vowels: *a* and *i*. The prefix *a* is only found in singular nouns, the prefix *i* is mainly found in plural nouns, but occasionally occurs in singular nouns too.

	FS prefix <i>a</i> (always singular)		FS prefix <i>i</i> (mostly plural)	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ṭa</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ṭi</i>
AS	<i>we</i>	<i>ṭe</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ṭe</i>
FS	<i>asnuš</i>	<i>ṭasnušt</i>	<i>isnas</i>	<i>ṭisnas</i>
AS	<i>wesnuš</i>	<i>ṭesnušt</i>	<i>yesnas</i>	<i>ṭesnas</i>
	'donkey foal'		'donkey foals'	

A similar system is found in masculine nouns with underlying initial *r*, however, the phonetic outcome is somewhat different due to its vocalization:

FS	<i>aayaz</i>	<i>iaayazen</i>
AS	<i>waayaz</i>	<i>yaayazen</i>
	'man'	'men'

In the Annexed State of the masculine, the high vowels *u* and *i* are used instead of the semivowels *w* and *y* when the noun stem starts with a consonant followed by a vowel (including schwa). The feminine AS prefix does not have schwa under this condition. This has to do with the constraint on schwa in open syllables (see 2.2).

	FS prefix <i>a</i>		FS prefix <i>i</i>	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>
AS	<i>u</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>t</i>
FS	<i>afunas</i>	<i>tafunast</i>	<i>ifunasen</i>	<i>tifunasin</i>
AS	<i>ufunas</i>	<i>tfunast</i>	<i>ifunasen</i>	<i>tfunasin</i>
	'bull'	'cow'	'bulls'	'cows'

There are a number of nouns that have no prefix vowel in the Free State singular, but where the prefix reappears in the masculine Annexed State and in the plural. All these nouns have a stem beginning with a consonant followed by a plain vowel *a*, *i* or *u*.

	FS prefix <i>ø</i> (singular)		FS prefix <i>i</i> (plural)	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	<i>ø</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>
AS	<i>u</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>t</i>
FS	<i>fus</i>	<i>tsiřit</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	<i>tsiřa</i>
AS	<i>ufus</i>	<i>tsiřit</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	<i>tsiřa</i>
	'hand'	'shoe'	'hands'	'shoes'

This type is common among basic Berber nouns, but also includes an important number of European loans, e.g. *karru* (FS) – *ukarru* (AS) 'cart' (< Spanish *carro*).

The great majority of noun stems start in a consonant. There are also nouns stems with an initial vowel (known as *voyelle constante* in Berberological tradition). These have different morphology. In the Annexed State, the stem-initial vowel is maintained. As a consequence, there is no difference between Free State and Annexed State in the feminine. The stem-initial vowel is maintained in the plural (for details see below).

	Stem-initial <i>a</i>		Stem-initial <i>i</i>		Stem-initial <i>u</i>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>tu</i>
AS	<i>wa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>tu</i>
FS	<i>anu</i>	<i>taṛa</i>	<i>išš</i>	<i>tiṛi</i>	<i>uššen</i>	<i>tuššent</i>
AS	<i>wanu</i>	<i>taṛa</i>	<i>yišš</i>	<i>tiṛi</i>	<i>wuššen</i>	<i>tuššent</i>
	'well'	'source'	'horn'	'valley'	'jackal (M.)'	'jackal (F.)'

3.2.4 Class I: Plural formation

Plurals are derived from the singular by a number of processes: change of the prefix from *a* to *i*, suffixing of *-en* (PL:M), *-an* (PL:M) or *-in* (PL:F), and/or changes in the vowels of the stem, e.g.

<i>afedžah</i>	<i>ifedžahen</i>	'farmer'
<i>tafedžahṭ</i>	<i>tifedžahin</i>	'farmer woman'
<i>asṛem</i>	<i>iseṛman</i>	'fish'
<i>azru</i>	<i>izra</i>	'stone'

Number marking in the prefix

Number marking in the prefix is relatively straightforward: the prefixes *a* and *ta* become *i* and *ti* (*i*- and *te* in the Annexed State). Nouns which have the prefix vowel *i* in the singular have the same prefix vowel in the singular and in the plural, e.g.

<i>iyess</i>	<i>ixsan</i> (AS: <i>iyess</i> – <i>yexsan</i>)	'bone'
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There are a couple of divergent cases regarding the prefix.

In the first place, CV-initial stems which have no prefix vowel in the Free State singular have prefixes in the plural, e.g.

<i>ḍaa</i>	<i>iḍaan</i>	'foot'	(< *ḍar – *iḍar(e)n)
<i>ṭhanet</i>	<i>tiḥuna</i>	'shop'	

In the second place, with vowel-initial stems, the plural treats the stem-initial vowel in a number of ways:

a. It is maintained. This is always the case with *u*, and often the case with *a* and *i*, e.g.

FREE STATE

ANNEXED STATE

<i>afriw</i>	<i>afriwen</i>	<i>wafriw</i>	<i>wafriwen</i>	'wing'
<i>uđem</i>	<i>uđmawen</i>	<i>wuđem</i>	<i>wuđmawen</i>	'face'
<i>ifis</i>	<i>ifisen</i>	<i>yifis</i>	<i>yifisen</i>	'hyena'
<i>tařa</i>	<i>tařiwin</i>	<i>tařa</i>	<i>tařiwin</i>	'source'
<i>tuššent</i>	<i>tuššanin</i>	<i>tuššent</i>	<i>tuššanin</i>	'female jackal'
<i>titt</i>	<i>tittawin</i>	<i>titt</i>	<i>tittawin</i>	'eye'

b. *i* is changed to *a*, e.g.

<i>išš</i>	<i>aššawen</i>	<i>yišš</i>	<i>waššawen</i>	'horn'
<i>timmi</i>	<i>tammiwin</i>	<i>timmi</i>	<i>tammiwin</i>	'eyebrow'

c. In one word, *a* is optionally changed to *i*:

<i>awař</i>	<i>iwařen</i> (~ <i>awařen</i>)	<i>wawař</i>	<i>yiwařen</i> (~ <i>wawařen</i>)	'word'
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Number marking by suffixes

With regards to stem-internal and suffixal processes, there are two groups: the first group has plural suffixes, while the second group uses stem-internal vowel changes instead. The suffixes used in plural formation are Masculine *-en*, *-an* and Feminine *-in*. Many nouns form their plurals simply by suffixing *-en* or *-in* in addition to changes in the prefix, e.g.

<i>amezzyan</i>	<i>imezzyanen</i>	'small (M)'
<i>taimezzyant</i>	<i>timezzyanin</i>	'small (F)'

Due to regular phonetic developments, *-en* becomes *-n* after *aa* (< *ar*), while in forms with *-an* and *-in*, the *r* reappears:

<i>amyaa</i>	<i>imyaa</i>	'father-in-law, chieftain'
vs. <i>fiyaa</i>	<i>ifiyran</i>	'viper'
<i>taamyaař</i>	<i>timyarin</i>	'woman, wife' ¹²

The adjunction of *-en*, *-an* and *-in* may lead to changes in the position of schwa (see 2.2), e.g.

<i>ařem</i>	<i>iseřman</i>	'fish'
<i>amesřem</i>	<i>imseřmen</i>	'Muslim man'
<i>tamesřent</i>	<i>timseřmin</i>	'Muslim woman'

Among the suffixes, *-en* and *-in* are by far the most common. The suffix *-an* only occurs in a limited number of nouns. It sometimes causes deletion of a preceding vowel, e.g.

<i>ařyem</i>	<i>iřeyman</i>	'camel'
<i>ařwaa</i>	<i>izewran</i>	'root, vein'

¹² Note the difference between *fiyaa*, which comes from *fiyər and *taamyaař*, which comes from *taamyart.

<i>itri</i>	<i>itran</i>	'star'
<i>izi</i>	<i>izan</i>	'fly'

While simple suffixation is the most common means of making suffixed plurals, there exist quite a number of other processes which can cooccur with the appearance of the plural suffix.

- a. Insertion of a semivowel *w* or *y*, sometimes leading to changes in the stem, e.g.

<i>aziza</i>	<i>izizawen</i>	'blue'
<i>anewzi</i>	<i>inewziwen</i>	'guest'
<i>ayenža</i>	<i>iyeñžayen</i>	'ladle'
<i>aženna</i>	<i>iženwan</i>	'sky'
<i>tazeqqa</i>	<i>tizeywin</i>	'roof'

Often, *w* is accompanied by a preceding *i* or *a*, which may take the place of the final vowel of the singular stem, e.g.

<i>uř</i>	<i>uřawen</i>	'heart'
<i>iri</i>	<i>irawen</i>	'neck'
<i>abeř</i>	<i>abřiwen</i>	'eyelash'
<i>taymaqt</i>	<i>tiyemřiwin</i>	'corner'

- b. Insertion of *t* or *-at*, e.g.

<i>anu</i>	<i>anuten</i>	'well'
<i>karru</i>	<i>ikarruten</i>	'cart'
<i>tfiyra</i>	<i>tifiyraṭin</i>	'snake'
<i>tasrit</i>	<i>tisraṭin</i>	'bride'
<i>tiřeft</i>	<i>tiřfaṭin</i>	'sow'

- c. Nouns which suffix *-an* (and corresponding feminine nouns in *-in*) sometimes cause deletion of a plain vowel in the stem and degemination of geminate consonants, e.g.

<i>ašemmus</i>	<i>išemsan</i>	'wrapping'
<i>tašemmust</i>	<i>tišemsin</i>	'small wrapping'

- d. In a number of basic words with CVC stems, there is suffixation of *-en/-in* accompanied by gemination and vowel change:

<i>fud</i>	<i>ifadden</i>	'knee'
<i>fus</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	'hand'
<i>žiž</i>	<i>izažžen</i>	'peg'

Further irregularities are found in the following nouns (the list is not exhaustive):

<i>daq</i>	<i>iḍuḍan</i>	'finger'
<i>titt</i>	<i>tiṭṭawin</i>	'eye'
<i>tsa</i>	<i>tiṣattin</i>	'liver'
<i>iyess</i>	<i>ixsan</i>	'bone'
<i>aydi</i>	<i>iṭan</i>	'dog'
<i>tyaṭṭ</i>	<i>tiyaṭṭin</i>	'goat'
<i>iyeyd</i>	<i>iyeyden</i>	'kid'

išarri	ašraan	'ram'
uššen	uššanen	'jackal'
yis	iysan	'horse'

Number marking by vowel changes in the stem

The second group of plurals have no suffix, but vowel changes in the stem instead. The basic vocalic pattern of the plural in this group is (u)-a. This pattern applies to the singular stem in the following manner:

a. Nouns which have only a plain vowel (i, u) in the last syllable of the stem change this vowel to a, e.g.

ažđid	ižđad	'bird'
tažđitt	tižđad	'little bird'
aɣyur	iyyar	'donkey'
taɣyuč	tiyyar	'female donkey' (< *taɣyurt - tiyyar)
azru	izra	'stone'

A few nouns with the stem type CCVC insert u between the first two consonants of the stem, e.g.

ađraa	iđuraa	'mountain'
aɣyas	iɣyas	'belt'

b. Nouns which have a schwa in the final syllable of the stem and no plain vowel insert a in between the two last consonants of the noun stem, e.g.

tiymest	tiymas	'tooth'
tiğgest	tiğgaz	'tattoo'
inaaƣed	inaaƣad	'spleen' (< *inerƣed - *inerƣad)

c. Noun stems which have two plain vowels (a, i, u) change the plain vowel in the last syllable to a. The preceding plain vowel remains unchanged if it is a high vowel (i or u); If it is a, it is changed to u. The same process is found when nouns of this type have schwa in the final syllable, e.g.

šurif	išuraf	'step'
tsirit	tišira	'shoe'
aneggaru	ineggura	'last'
šappu	išuppa	'hat'
ameddukeř	imeddukař	'friend'
tihanet	tiħuna	'shop'

Note that the sound transcribed as aa may stand for underlying /er/. In such cases, aa is not counted as a plain vowel, and does not undergo vowel changes, e.g.

asaadun	isaadan (not: **isuadan)	'mule' (< *aserđun)
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There are a number of plurals with irregular vowel changes, cf. (the list is not exhaustive):

awessaa	iwessura	'old' (M)
tawessaat	tiwessura	'old' (F)
taammuat	tiħura	'country'

<i>tawwuṭ</i>	<i>tiwwuṭa</i>	'door'
<i>aḍehṣuṭ</i>	<i>iḍehṣuṭa</i>	'deaf'
<i>ayezdis</i>	<i>iyezdisa</i>	'side, rib'
<i>tmaṭ</i>	<i>timira</i>	'beard'
<i>tiṣṭi</i>	<i>tiyyiṭa</i>	'blow'

3.3 Class II: Nouns with Arabic morphology

Nouns with Arabic morphology basically have the following structure:

ARABIC.ARTICLE-STEM-(SUFFIX)

Class II nouns do not differentiate between Free and Annexed state. The Arabic article is *ř-*; in Berber, it is simply part of the word. When it is followed by an interdental, alveolar or prepalatal consonant, it is assimilated to the stem consonant, according to Moroccan Arabic rules, e.g.

<i>ddexxan</i>	'smoke'
<i>ḍḍra</i>	'maize'
<i>ttmenyaṭ</i>	'money'
<i>ṭṭram</i>	'darkness'
<i>zzeṣṭ</i>	'oil'
<i>ssensreṭ</i>	'chain'
<i>ṣṣabun</i>	'soap'
<i>ṣṣeaa</i>	'hair'
<i>žžaaḥ</i>	'cliff'

According to the sound shifts of Tarifiyt, *ř-ř* (< *l-l) becomes *dž* (*ll) while initial *rr* is automatically preceded by *a*, e.g.

<i>džuz</i> (< *lluz)	'almonds'
<i>arriř</i> (< *rririř)	'the Rif'

In 20th and 21th century loans from Moroccan and Standard Arabic, the article sometimes has the shape *l* instead of *ř*, e.g. *lmueḥliim* 'teacher'. The geminate *ll* may be maintained, e.g. *lleššin* 'orange'. In loans from Standard Arabic, *l* does not always assimilate to *ž*, e.g. *lžarima* 'crime'. The Arabic article has no meaning in Tarifiyt and cannot be omitted. Class II nouns can be used both in definite and in indefinite contexts, e.g. *řeušš* 'the nest, a nest'.

Many loans from Spanish lack the article. As far as they resemble Arabic loans in their plural formation, they will be included in Class II, cf. *yabyuṭa* – *yabyuṭaṭ* 'sea-gull', *ṣpiṭaa* – *ṣpiṭaraṭ* 'hospital'.

The large majority of feminine words have the suffix *-eṭ* in the singular, e.g.

<i>řyabeṭ</i>	'woods'
<i>řgeedeṭ</i>	'slope'
<i>řxedmeṭ</i>	'work'
<i>řemḥiamet</i>	'handkerchief'

There are some feminine words, which have no feminine marking, e.g. *ṭtumuḥin* 'car'. 20th and 21th century loans from Moroccan or Standard Arabic as well as loans from Spanish often have *-a* instead of *-eṭ*, e.g.

<i>t̥t̥iyara</i>	'airplane'
<i>ṛeknina</i>	'pill, tablet'
<i>lkanisa</i>	'church'
<i>ṛbumba</i>	'bomb'

The plural follows the Arabic example. Many nouns, including most European loans in this class, have a plural suffix *-at̥* or, less frequently, *-awat̥*, e.g.

<i>t̥t̥iyara</i>	<i>t̥t̥iyarat̥</i>	'airplane'
<i>ssekwiila</i>	<i>ssekwiilat̥</i>	'school'
<i>spit̥aqa</i>	<i>spit̥arat̥</i>	'hospital'
<i>ṛbanku</i>	<i>ṛbankawat̥</i>	'bank (financial institution)'
<i>ddisku</i>	<i>ddiskawat̥</i>	'song'
<i>lfitem</i>	<i>lfilmawat̥</i>	'movie'

Most nouns in this class, however, follow the intricate vowel changes typical of Arabic morphology. One common pattern is the application of a pattern *aCi*, in which *C* is the last consonant of the singular stem. When this *C* is preceded by a vowel, one gets *ya* or *wa*, e.g.

<i>zzenqet̥</i>	<i>zznaqi</i>	'street'
<i>ṛyabet̥</i>	<i>ṛeywabi</i>	'woods'
<i>d̥ziṛet̥</i>	<i>d̥zyari</i>	'night'

There are many other morphological patterns, as exemplified by the following words:

<i>nnhaqa</i>	<i>nnhuṛa</i>	'day'
<i>ṛbit̥</i>	<i>ṛebyut̥</i>	'room'
<i>ṛmus</i>	<i>ṛemwas</i>	'knife'
<i>ṛqendaat̥</i>	<i>ṛeqnaḍaa</i>	'bridge'

3.4 Class III: Nouns without affixes

The small group of nouns without affixes mainly consists of kinship terms. These nouns have no regular gender derivation, and often use suppletive plurals. Nouns of this class do not mark the distinction between Free and Annexed state.

Kinship terms belonging to this group refer to the first person when they are not followed by pronominal suffixes; thus *mmi* translates as 'my son', not as 'son'. Different from the other classes, kinship terms of Class III can take pronominal affixes, cf. the difference between the Class I kinship term *ayyaw* 'son of paternal aunt, son of sister, grandson' and the Class III kinship term *ḥenna* 'grandmother':

1SG	<i>ayyaw inu</i>	'my grandson'	<i>ḥenna</i>	'my grandmother'
3SG	<i>ayyaw nnes</i>	'his grandson'	<i>ḥenna-s</i>	'his grandmother'

With the Class I kinship term *ayyaw* a possessive construction with the preposition *n* 'of' is used, while the Class III kinship term *ḥenna* has direct possession by means of the suffix *-s*.

When the relation is to an explicitly mentioned third person, Class III kinship terms need a "his grandmother of X"-construction, which is impossible with other types of nouns, e.g.

- henna-s n Načima* 'the (lit.: her) grandmother of Načima' (grandmother: Class III)
 cf. *ayyaw n Načima* 'the grandson of Načima' (grandson: Class I)

The main kinship terms belonging to Class III are the following:

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
<i>uma</i>	<i>ayeṭma</i>	'my brother'
<i>učma</i>	<i>issma</i>	'my sister'
<i>baḅa</i>	<i>iḅaḅaṭen</i>	'my father' ¹³
<i>yemma</i>	<i>ṭiyemmaṭin</i>	'my mother'
<i>mmi</i>		'my son' ¹⁴
<i>yedži</i>	<i>issi</i>	'my daughter'
<i>ezizi</i>	<i>emumi, ewazizi</i>	'my paternal uncle'
<i>εenti</i>	<i>ewanti</i>	'my paternal aunt'
<i>xaři</i>	<i>xwaři</i>	'my maternal uncle'
<i>xači</i>	<i>xwači</i>	'my maternal aunt'
<i>žeddi</i>	<i>řeždud</i>	'my grandfather' ¹⁵
<i>henna</i>	<i>ṭihennaṭin</i>	'my grandmother' ¹⁶
<i>lalla</i>		'the wife of my paternal uncle; my mother-in-law (of a woman); my mistress'

Note that *ayeṭma* 'my brothers' is special, because it has an opposition between Free State and Annexed State: FS: *ayeṭma*, AS: *yayeṭma*, e.g. *n yayeṭma* 'of my brothers'. In addition to these kinship terms, there are a few other nouns in this class, e.g. *raž* 'hunger', *faḍ* 'thirst', *temzi* 'youth', *mašša* 'food'. Different from kinship terms, these words cannot take pronominal suffixes.

3.5 Pre-nominal elements

There are a couple of proclitics to the noun. Most important among these are two series, one meaning 'someone belonging to X' and one meaning 'somebody who has X'.

The first series is found in terms of tribal affiliation; in such cases, the PL:M also indicates the name of the tribe:

SG:M	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-Seiḍ</i>	'somebody belonging to the Ayt Said'
PL:M	<i>ayṭ- ~ aṭ-</i>	<i>ayṭ- / aṭ-Seiḍ</i>	'(people belonging to) the Ayt Said'

¹³ The plurals *iḅaḅaṭen* and *ṭiyemmaṭin* belong to Class I; they are not entirely parallel to *baḅa* and *yemma* as they do not inherently refer to a first person (which would be odd anyhow).

¹⁴ In the plural, one can use *ṭaḡawa (inu)* or *iḥenžian (inu)* '(my) children'; *iḥenžian* is the plural of *aḥenžia* which means 'boy, child', but is normally not used in order to denote kinship in the singular.

¹⁵ The plural belongs to class II. It can also mean 'ancestors'.

¹⁶ The plural *ṭihennaṭin* belongs to Class I.

The Annexed State of *ayt* is *yayt* : *n yayt-seid* 'of the Ayt Said'. The expressions for female members of the tribe have special morphology, which is in between Class I morphology and the use of prenominal elements:

SG:F *tu- ... -t* *tuseitt* 'a woman belonging to the Ayt Said'

PL:F *tyayt-* *tyayt-seid* 'women belonging to the Ayt Said'

Note that many tribal names are constructed as Class I nouns and do not have a prenominal element, e.g.

SG:M *aqeři* 'man belonging to the Iqeřiyeen tribe'

SG:F *taqeřešt* 'woman belonging to the Iqeřiyeen tribe'

PL:M *iqeřiyeen* 'men belonging to the Iqeřiyeen tribe; the Iqeřiyeen tribe'

PL:F *tiqeřiyein* 'women belonging to the Iqeřiyeen tribe'

The second series of pre-nominal elements denotes the owner of something, or somebody associated with it. The noun which follows is in the Annexed State. This series is only used in the singular:

SG:M *bu-* *bu-tyarraḅut*¹⁷ 'a male owner of a boat'

SG:F *mu-* *mu-tyarraḅut* 'a female owner of a boat'

When used with body parts, *bu/m* is expressive, e.g.

bu-yyemzan (M) *m(u)-iyemzan* (F) '(wo)man with ugly big teeth'

b(u)-uzedžif (M) *m(u)-uzedžif* (F) '(wo)man with an ugly big head'

bu-tququšin (M) *mu-tququšin* (F) '(fe)male with lovely eyes (esp. babies)'

¹⁷ The Free State form of the noun is *ṭayarraḅut*.

4. The verb

4.1 Conjugation

Tarifiyt Berber verbs are conjugated by means of affixes that mark the person, number and gender of the subject. The affixes come before and after the stem. There are two sets of subject affixes: imperative affixes and normal affixes.

Imperative conjugation (Aorist examples)

2SG	-	<i>qqim</i>	'sit down!'
2PL:M	STEM- <i>et</i> ~ <i>-em</i>	<i>qqimet</i> ~ <i>qqimem</i>	
2PL:F	STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>qqiment</i>	

When the Imperative 2PL:M suffix is combined with the deictic clitic *d* 'hither', it takes the form *-tti*w, e.g. *as-d* 'come here (singular)'> *as-ttiw* 'come here (PL:M)', *asent-id* 'come here (PL:F)'.

Normal conjugation (Aorist/Perfective examples)

1SG	STEM- <i>ey</i>	<i>qqimey</i>	'I sit'
2SG	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>ed</i>	<i>teqqimed</i>	'you sit'
3SG:M	<i>ye</i> -STEM	<i>yeqqim</i>	'he sits'
3SG:F	<i>te</i> -STEM	<i>teqqim</i>	'she sits'
1PL	<i>ne</i> -STEM	<i>neqqim</i>	'we sit'
2PL:M	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>em</i>	<i>teqqimem</i>	'you (men) sit'
2PL:F	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>teqqiment</i>	'you (women) sit'
3PL:M	STEM- <i>en</i>	<i>qqimen</i>	'they (men) sit'
3PL:F	STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>qqiment</i>	'they (women) sit'

The masculine plural refers to all-masculine or all-male groups or to mixed groups with both males and females (or masculine and feminine objects); the feminine plural refers only to all-feminine and all-female groups.

The injunctive is formed by combining the first person plural prefix with the imperative plural suffix:

<i>ne</i> -STEM- <i>eṭ</i>	(a) <i>neqqimeṭ</i> ¹⁸	'let's sit'
<i>ne</i> -STEM- <i>ent</i>	(a) <i>neqqiment</i>	'let's sit (women)'

In addition to these two conjugations, there is a form without subject-reference, which is used in relative clauses where the head (antecedent) functions as the subject of the relative clause (see 15.2.1). In Berberological tradition, this form is called the Participle, even though it is a purely verbal form, which has no nominal characteristics.

Participle (Aorist/Perfective examples)

SG/PL/M/F	<i>ye</i> -STEM- <i>en</i>	<i>yeqqimen</i>	'(that) sit(s)'
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The basic form of the affixes is the same for all verbs and aspects, however, some minor changes take place when the suffixes are added to the verb. The following changes have to do with the place of schwa, and follow to a large part from the rules formulated in section 2.2:

- Vowel-initial verb stems (incl. those with *aa* < *r*) have prefixes without schwa, e.g. *yudeṭ* 'he went in', *yaqweṭ* 'he fled'.
- When the stem starts in a consonant followed by a vowel (plain *a*, *i*, *u* or schwa), there is no schwa in the prefix. The 3SG:M prefix *ye-* is realized *i-* under this condition, e.g. *isedžem* 'he greeted'.
- Because of the constraint against schwa in open syllables, the adjunction of a subject suffix may lead to changes in the syllable structure of the stem, e.g. *šneṭ* 'roast!' 1:SG *šnefey* 'I roasted'.

In addition, in verbs with final **ey* and **ew* the semivowel becomes *i* and *u*, respectively, when no suffix follows, while it is maintained when a suffix follows. Cf. the conjugation of the verbs *šneṭ* 'to roast'¹⁹, *zři* (**zřey*) 'to turn' and *hřu* (**hřew*) 'to gulp':

¹⁸ The injunctive is only used in combination with the preverbal particle *a(d)*.

¹⁹ Note that the Imperative singular is used as the citation form.

Imperative conjugation (Aorist forms)

2SG	šnef	zři	ħru
2PL:M	šnefet ~ šenfem	zeřyet ~ zeřyem	ħerwet ~ ħerwem
2PL:F	šenfent	zeřyent	ħerwent

Normal conjugation (Aorist/Perfective forms)

1SG	šnefey	zeřyey	ħerwey
2SG	šnefed	zeřyed	ħerwed
3SG:M	yešnef	yezři	yehru
3SG:F	tešnef	tezři	teħru
1PL	nešnef	nezři	neħru
2PL:M	šnefem	zeřyem	ħerwem
2PL:F	šenfent	zeřyent	ħerwent
3PL:M	šnefen	zeřyen	ħerwen
3PL:F	šenfent	zeřyent	ħerwent

Participle (Aorist/Perfective forms)

išnefen	izeřyen	iħerwen
'to roast'	'to turn'	'to gulp'

Note that verbs ending in the vowels *i* or *u* which are not derived from **ey* or **ew* have no schwa in the suffix, e.g. *yeřfu* 'he forgave', *erfun* 'they forgave'; *yeřsi* 'he took', *ksin* 'they took'.

e. There are also a couple of changes that are not related to the placement of schwa.

In the first place, verb stems consisting of one or two consonants without a plain vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*) in the imperative have special forms in the Perfective. In the Perfective, the stem is expanded by the vowel *a* when no suffix follows and by *i* when a suffix follows.

In the second place, verbs ending in the vowel *a* change *a* to *i* in the 1SG and 2SG in all aspectual forms (see the table below). Verbs that end in the plain vowel *u* do not change the vowel.

The following table shows the conjugation of a verb ending in *a*, *wɔ* 'to fall', a verb with special Perfective vocalization, *yez* 'to dig', and of a verb ending in *u* with no further vowel changes, *ɛfu* 'to forgive'.

Imperative conjugation				
2SG	<i>ɛfu</i>	<i>wɔ</i>	<i>yez</i>	
2PL:M	<i>ɛfuɪ ~ ɛfum</i>	<i>wɔɪ ~ wɔm</i>	<i>yezɪ ~ yezem</i>	
2PL:F	<i>ɛfunt</i>	<i>wɔant</i>	<i>yezant</i>	
Normal conjugation				
	A/P	A/P	A	P
1SG	<i>ɛfuy</i>	<i>wɔiy</i>	<i>yezey</i>	<i>yeziz</i>
2SG	<i>ɛɛfud</i>	<i>ɛwɔɪd</i>	<i>ɛyezɛd</i>	<i>ɛyezizd</i>
3SG:M	<i>yɛɛfu</i>	<i>yewɔ</i>	<i>yeyz</i>	<i>yeyza</i>
3SG:F	<i>ɛɛfu</i>	<i>ɛwɔ</i>	<i>ɛyez</i>	<i>ɛyezza</i>
1PL	<i>nɛɛfu</i>	<i>nɛwɔ</i>	<i>neyz</i>	<i>neyza</i>
2PL:M	<i>ɛɛfum</i>	<i>ɛwɔm</i>	<i>ɛyeyem</i>	<i>ɛyeyzim</i>
2PL:F	<i>ɛɛfunt</i>	<i>ɛwɔant</i>	<i>ɛyeyzent</i>	<i>ɛyeyzint</i>
3PL:M	<i>ɛfun</i>	<i>wɔan</i>	<i>yzen</i>	<i>yzin</i>
3PL:F	<i>ɛfunt</i>	<i>wɔant</i>	<i>yzent</i>	<i>yzint</i>
Participle:				
	<i>yɛɛfun</i>	<i>yewɔan</i>	<i>yeyzen</i>	<i>yeyzin</i>
	'to forgive'	'to fall'	'to dig'	'to dig'

4.2 Derived verbs

Tarfiyt Berber has relatively regular means of verb derivation. There are three basic derivational prefixes: *ss-* 'causative', *mm-* 'middle' and *twa-* 'passive'. *ss-* and *mm-* are not always geminated. It is possible to combine the derivational morphemes to a certain extent.

As verb derivation is to a large degree related to transitivity, first some basic data on transitivity in underived verbs will be provided.

4.2.1 Transitivity and valency

As regards transitivity, Tarifiyt Berber underived verbs fall into three major groups: transitive, intransitive and labile.

Transitive underived verbs have a direct object, which may or may not be expressed depending on the verb, e.g.

yeswa aman 'he has drunk water'
he.drunk^P / water^{FS}

yeswa 'he has drunk' (not: 'it has been drunk')

Intransitive underived verbs cannot be combined with a direct object, though some verbs take an indirect object.

yesřa i wawař 'he heard the words (indirect object)'
he.heard^P / to / word^{FS}

Labile verbs occur in two different constructions. When used with a direct object, they are interpreted as active transitives, e.g.

ieemmaa aqbuř nnes 'he has filled his water jar'
he.filled^P / jar^{FS} / his

When used in the Perfective, they may also function as stative intransitives. In this case the direct object of the transitive construction functions as the subject of the intransitive construction, e.g.

ieemmaa weqbuř nnes 'his water jar is filled'
he.filled^P / jar^{AS} / his

Labile verbs are very common in Tarifiyt Berber.

4.2.2 The causative prefix ss-

The most commonly found derivational prefix is ss- 'causative'. It is used with all three types of verbs:

- a. Intransitive verbs become transitive when the causative suffix is added, e.g.

<i>ggenfa</i>	'to be cured'	<i>sgenfa</i>	'to heal (somebody)'
<i>azzeř</i>	'to run'	<i>ssizeř</i>	'to make run'

- b. To transitive verbs a second direct object is added, which makes them ditransitive. Only a few verbs allow for this, e.g.

<i>řř</i>	'to eat'	<i>sseřř</i>	'to feed'
<i>iađ</i>	'to wear'	<i>ssiāđ</i>	'to dress (somebody)'

- c. Most labile verbs do not allow for a causative derivation.

Morphologically, the causative derivation shows a number of peculiarities. Initial geminate consonants are degeminated after ss-, e.g.

<i>ggenfa</i>	'to be cured'	<i>sgenfa</i>	'to heal (somebody)'
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Two-consonantal verbs which have an initial geminate, add an *u* before the first consonant, e.g.

<i>ffey</i>	'to go out'	<i>ssufey</i>	'to let out'
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There are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g.

<i>kkaa</i>	'to rise'	<i>sekkaa</i>	'to make rise' ²⁰
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Verbs starting in *a* change this *a* into *i* in the Aorist and Perfective of the causative. The *a* reappears in the Imperfective (see 13.2), e.g.

<i>aḡef</i>	'to go in'	<i>ssidef</i>	'to let in'
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4.2.3 The middle prefix *mm-*

The middle prefix *mm-* (also *m-*) is mainly used to form reciprocals, e.g.

<i>ṛaya</i>	'to call'	<i>mṛaya</i>	'to call each other'
<i>ny</i>	'to kill'	<i>mney</i>	'to fight (lit. to kill each other)'

Some middles have passive semantics, e.g.

<i>nḡaḡ</i>	'to throw'	<i>mmenḡaḡ</i>	'to be thrown'
<i>aani</i>	'to add'	<i>mmaani</i>	'to be added'

When used in the Imperfective aspect, passive middle verbs get the connotation of being "X-able":

<i>ṭemmenz ṭṭumuḡin-nni</i>	'the car has been sold' (Perfective)
she.is.sold ^P / car-that	
<i>ṭetmenza ṭṭumuḡin-nni</i>	'the car is sellable' (Imperfective)
she.is.sold ^I / car-that	

Note that the middle derivation is not used in reflexives, which are expressed by means of the phrase *ixef n-*, e.g.

<i>yewṭa ixef nnes</i>	'he hit himself'
he.hit ^P / self ^{PS} / his	

In reciprocals, alternative constructions with *ayawya* and *iḡḡen ḡ wenneyni* (lit. 'one and the other') exist, which are used with verbs that do not allow for a middle derivation, e.g.

<i>nṛaḡa ayawya</i>	'we waited for each other'
we.waited ^P / each.other	
<i>nṛaḡa iḡḡen ḡ wenneyni</i>	'we waited for each other'
we.waited ^P / one / and / the.other ^{MSG}	

The middle prefix has an allomorph *mṛ-* which is used with verbs starting in *a* in the Aorist, as well as with some other verbs, e.g.

²⁰ Historically, *kkaa* 'to rise' and its causative *sekkaa* are derived from **nker*. The nasal reappears in the Imperfective form *snakkaa*.

<i>aḡes</i>	'to be near'	<i>mṛaḡas</i>	'to be near to each other'
<i>wwet</i>	'to hit'	<i>mṛewta</i>	'to hit each other'

In addition, there are several allomorphs with *n*, mainly *nn-* and *nnu-*. Many examples have a labial consonant in the verb stem, which suggests that we are dealing with a conditioned variant of *m*. Most middles with *n* have passive semantics, e.g.

<i>ḡfes</i>	'to fold'	<i>nnedfes</i>	'to be fold'
<i>aḡzem</i>	'to open, to be open'	<i>nnuḡzem</i>	'to be opened'
<i>ffaa</i>	'to hide (something/oneself)	<i>nnuffaa</i>	'to be hid'
<i>qṛeb</i>	'to turn (sth.) around'	<i>nnaqṛeb</i>	'to turn (oneself) around'

4.2.4 The passive prefix *twa-*

The prefix *twa-* is used to make a passive of transitive and labile verbs. It is impossible to use an agent phrase (X was done by Y) with a verb derived with *twa-*. Verbs with the passive prefix *twa-* cannot be used in the Imperfective (Cadi 2006). Examples:

<i>zzu</i>	'to plant'	<i>twazzu</i>	'to be planted'
<i>šš</i>	'to eat'	<i>twašš</i>	'to be eaten'

It is important to note that *twa-* can be used with labile verbs. There is a subtle difference between the intransitive reading of the underived labile verb and the passive derived verb. In the underived intransitive form, the focus is on the state (which may be a result or not), and the statement is about a situation rather than about an action. The agent of the action (though sometimes there is logically one) is not in the speaker's mind. The derived passive, on the other hand, puts the focus on the action, but without mentioning the actor. The use of the passive necessarily implies the presence of an unmentioned actor, e.g. (following Cadi 1987:109)

išaaz ufedžaḡ iyyaa
 he.ploughed^P / farmer^{AS} / field^{FS}
 'the farmer ploughed the field'
 (transitive reading of the underived verb)

išaaz yiyyaa
 it^M.(is).ploughed^P / field^{AS}
 'the field is ploughed' (used, for example, when describing a field)
 (intransitive reading of the underived verb)

yetwašaaz yiyyaa
 it^M.was.ploughed^P / field^{AS}
 'the field has been ploughed' (focus is on the action rather than on the situation eventually resulting from the action)
 (passive derived verb)

4.2.5 Combined derivations

To a limited extent, it is possible to combine derivations, e.g.

<i>ney</i>	'to kill'	<i>mney</i>	'to fight'	<i>ssemney</i>	'to make fight'
<i>řqa</i>	'to meet'	<i>mseřqa</i>	'to meet e.o.'	<i>semseřqa</i>	'to make meet e.o.'
<i>azzeř</i>	'to run'	<i>ssizzer</i>	'to make run'	<i>twasizzer</i>	'to be made/let run'

4.3 Mood/Aspect/Negation (MAN) stems

4.3.1 General overview

Nador Tarifiyt verbs come in maximally five different stem forms, which are linked to the expression of mood, aspect and negation. These stems forms are called Mood/Aspect/Negation (MAN) stems. Among these, the negative stems only occur in combination with the preverbal negator *waa*.

Within Berber studies, there exists important terminological variation as to the naming of the five stems (see bibliography). In the following table, some of the more commonly used systems are listed, together with the system used here and the abbreviations. The example verb is *aḍef* 'to enter'.

Usage here	Abbr.	A. Basset	L. Galand	K.-G. Prasse	example
Aorist	A	aoriste	aoriste	imparfait simple	<i>aḍef</i>
Perfective	P	prétérit	accompli	parfait	<i>uḍef</i>
Imperfective ²¹	I	aoriste intensif	inaccompli	imparfait intensif	<i>taḍef</i>
Negative Perfective	NP	prétérit négatif	accompli négatif	parfait négatif	<i>uḍif</i>
Negative Imperfective	NI	aoriste intensif négatif	inaccompli négatif	imparfait intensif négatif	<i>tiḍef</i>

While some verbs, such as *aḍef* given above, have five different forms, other verbs have homonymy in one or more stem forms, e.g. *usu* 'to cough', which is *usu* in the Aorist, the Perfective and the Negative Perfective, and *tusu* in the Imperfective and the Negative Imperfective. A few verbs even have the same form in all MAN stems, *ssru* 'to make cry'.

The morphology of the MAN stems is easiest described taking the Aorist as the basis.

²¹ In older literature, the term *habitatif* is also encountered.

4.3.2 The formation of the Perfective

Most verbs have a Perfective which is identical to the Aorist. The following groups of verbs have a formal difference between the two aspects:

- a. Verbs starting in *a* change the vowel in *u*, e.g.

A <i>azzeř</i>	P <i>uzzeř</i>	'to run'
A <i>ađes</i>	P <i>uđes</i>	'to be near'

When the initial *a* of the Aorist is followed by *w*, the Perfective vowel is *i* instead of *u*, e.g.

A <i>awi</i>	P <i>iwi</i>	'to carry to'
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When the vowel *a* is the result of the vocalisation of *r* or *r*, the Aorist is identical to the Perfective, e.g.

A <i>qaweř</i>	P <i>qaweř</i>	'to flee' (< <i>rweř</i>)
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- b. Aorist verbs without a plain vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*) that consist of two consonants or a geminate consonant add a vowel in the Perfective. This vowel is *a* when no suffix follows, and *i* when a suffix follows (see 4.1 for the full paradigm), e.g.

A <i>yez</i>	P <i>yzi~a</i>	'to dig'
A <i>šš</i>	P <i>šši~a</i>	'to eat'
A <i>ns</i>	P <i>nsi~a</i>	'to spend the night'
A <i>su</i> (1SG: <i>swey</i>)	P <i>swi~a</i>	'to drink'
A <i>ni</i> (1SG: <i>nyey</i>)	P <i>nyi~a</i>	'to mount'

There is one exception: the verb *xs* 'to want' does not add the vowel in the Perfective:

A <i>xs</i>	P <i>xs</i>	'to want'
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Verbs consisting of *a* followed by a single consonant change *a* to *u* and add a vowel:

A <i>af</i>	P <i>ufi~a</i>	'to find'
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- c. Verb stems starting with a geminated consonant followed by word-internal *a*, change *a* to *u* (*i* before *w*) in the Perfective:

A <i>džaz</i>	P <i>džuz</i>	'to be hungry'
A <i>ffađ</i>	P <i>ffuđ</i>	'to be thirsty'
A <i>žžadž</i>	P <i>žžudž</i>	'to swear'
A <i>zzadž</i>	P <i>zzudž</i>	'to pray'
A <i>ššaq</i>	P <i>ššuq</i> (~ <i>ššaq</i>)	'to fill'
A <i>žžawen</i>	P <i>žžiwen</i>	'to be satiated'

- d. In addition there are a few irregular forms, e.g:

A <i>iři</i>	P <i>dža</i>	'to be'
A <i>ini</i>	P <i>nna</i>	'to say'
A <i>ari</i>	P <i>ura</i>	'to write'
A <i>azu</i>	P <i>uza</i>	'to skin'
A <i>wwet</i>	P <i>wti~a</i>	'to hit'

4.3.3 The formation of the Negative Perfective

The Negative Perfective is derived in a fairly regular fashion from the Perfective. The following rules apply:

- a. When the Perfective of a verb has internal or final *a*, this vowel is changed to *i*. When the vowel is *u*, no change occurs, e.g.

A <i>wða</i>	P <i>wða</i>	NP <i>wði</i>	'to fall'
A <i>sgenfa</i>	P <i>sgenfa</i>	NP <i>sgenfi</i>	'to cure'
A <i>af</i>	P <i>ufi~a</i>	NP <i>ufi</i>	'to find'
A <i>ɛawen</i>	P <i>ɛawen</i>	NP <i>ɛiwen</i>	'to help'
A <i>sawem</i>	P <i>sawem</i>	NP <i>siwem</i>	'to barter'
A <i>řaya</i>	P <i>řaya</i>	NP <i>řiya</i>	'to call out for'

- b. Verbs with two or three consonants which have no plain vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*; on vocalized *r* see below) in the last syllable of the Perfective stem, insert *i* before the final consonant, e.g.

A <i>řmed</i>	P <i>řmed</i>	NP <i>řmiđ</i>	'to learn'
A <i>ađes</i>	P <i>uđes</i>	NP <i>uđis</i>	'to be near'
A <i>ffey</i>	P <i>ffey</i>	NP <i>ffiy</i>	'to go out'

When the second consonant is a geminate, *i* is not added, e.g.

A <i>bedd</i>	P <i>bedd</i>	NP <i>bedd</i>	'to stand'
A <i>fedžeq</i>	P <i>fedžeq</i>	NP <i>fedžeq</i>	'to split'

When the stem has more than three consonants, or when it has three consonants and an internal plain vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*), *i* is not added either, e.g.

A <i>qeždeh</i>	P <i>qeždeh</i>	NP <i>qeždeh</i>	'to limp'
A <i>neyney</i>	P <i>neyney</i>	NP <i>neyney</i>	'to stutter'
A <i>ššuxřed</i>	P <i>ššuxřed</i>	NP <i>ššuxřed</i>	'to snore'

- c. Verbs with vocalization of *r* in medial or final position that belong to the structures described under (a) and (b) have the same form in the positive and the negative Perfective in urban Nador varieties, which may have a partly phonetic background (see 2.3.7). In rural dialects, *i* is inserted and *r* reappears.

A <i>haay</i>	P <i>haay</i>	NP <i>haay ~ ħriy</i>	'to grind'
A <i>fāqq</i>	P <i>fāqq</i>	NP <i>fāqq ~ řriq</i>	'to separate'
A <i>ašaa</i>	P <i>ušaa</i>	NP <i>ušaa ~ ušia</i>	'to steal'

4.3.4 The formation of the Imperfective

The formation of the Imperfective is by far the most irregular of the MAN derivations. There are three major derivational devices:

- Gemination of a stem consonant
- Prefixation of *t(t)*-
- Insertion of a plain vowel (*i*, *u*, *a*) before the last consonant of the root

Gemination and Prefixation only rarely cooccur; insertion of a plain vowel is common in combination with prefixation of *t(t)*-. As the derivation of the

Imperfective depends to a large degree on the formal properties of the verb, this will be the guiding principle in the overview.

a. Verbs with three consonants and no plain vowel (*i, u, a*) have mostly gemination of the second consonant of the stem, e.g.

A řmed	I řemmed	'to learn'
A qřeb	I qedžeb	'to turn'
A mseh	I messeh	'to wipe'

In the formation of the Imperfective vocalized *r* is treated as a normal consonant, e.g.

A qazem	I qazzem	'to open'
A yaq	I yarreq	'to be stuck in water or sand'
A šaaz	I šarrez	'to plough'
A mžaa	I mežžaa	'to mow, to harvest'
A myqa	I meyyqa	'to grow, to become old'

A few verbs have a different formation:

A qawer	I trakk ^w ař	'to flee'
A dwer	I ddakk ^w ař (< tđakk ^w ař)	'to become'
A faay	I tefriy	'to be bended'
A yaas	I qqaaš (~ yarres)	'to slaughter'

b. Verbs with two consonants which end in a vowel have gemination of the second consonant. Gemination procedures are as outlined in 2.3.8, e.g.

A bda	I bedda	'to begin'
A hwa	I hekk ^w a	'to go down'
A wda	I wetta	'to fall'
A aazu	I aazzu	'to search'

The following verb is irregular:

A k̄si ~ ysi ~ šsi	I kessi	'to take, to carry'
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c. Verbs which have two consonants and an initial *a* in the Aorist prefix *t(t)-* in the Imperfective; if *a* is the result of the vocalization of *r*, this is not the case (see under a, above), e.g.

A ašaa	I tašaa	'to steal'
A azzeř	I tazzeř	'to run'

d. Verbs consisting of an initial geminate and one additional consonant or plain vowel (*i, u, a*) in the Aorist, prefix *t-* in the Imperfective, e.g.

A ssen	I tessan	'to know'
A ffey	I teffey	'to go out'
A ttu	I tettū	'to forget'

The verb *wwet* (P: *w̄ti-a*) is also irregular in the Imperfective:

A wwet	I ššat	'to hit'
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e. Verbs ending in a geminate have the prefix *t-* and add *a* at the end of the stem. When the geminate is the only consonant of the stem, *t-* is prefixed; some of these verbs suffix *a*, others don't, e.g.

A <i>bedd</i>	I <i>tbedda</i>	'to stand'
A <i>hekk</i>	I <i>theikka</i>	'to rub'
A <i>zemm</i>	I <i>tzemma</i>	'to suck'
A <i>žž</i>	I <i>težža</i>	'to let, to abandon'
A <i>arr</i>	I <i>tarra</i>	'to give back'
A <i>gg</i>	I <i>tegg</i>	'to do'
A <i>kk</i>	I <i>tekk</i>	'to pass'
A <i>gg^w</i>	I <i>tegg^w</i>	'to knead, to bake bread'

Remark the following irregular verb:

A <i>šš</i>	I <i>tett</i>	'to eat'
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f. Verbs consisting of two consonants without a plain vowel (*i, u, a*) in the Aorist have a large number of different formations in the Imperfective:

Gemination of the second consonant:

A <i>ny</i>	I <i>neqq</i>	'to kill'
A <i>zqa</i>	I <i>zarr</i>	'to see'
A <i>qay</i>	I <i>qaqq</i>	'be lit'

Gemination of the second consonant and insertion of *a*:

A <i>deř</i>	I <i>ddař</i>	'to cover'
A <i>yez</i>	I <i>qqaz</i>	'to dig'
A <i>du</i> (* <i>dew</i>)	I <i>ttaw</i>	'to fly'
A <i>yqa</i>	I <i>qqaq²²</i>	'to read, to study'
A <i>ni</i> (* <i>ney</i>)	I <i>nmay</i>	'to mount'

Prefixation of *t-*, sometimes accompanied by addition of a vowel:

A <i>ns</i>	I <i>tnusa</i>	'to spend the night'
A <i>xs</i>	I <i>texs</i>	'to want'
A <i>seř</i>	I <i>tesřa</i>	'to hear'

Note the following irregular forms:

A <i>qaz</i>	I <i>taqazza</i>	'to break'
A <i>su</i> (< * <i>sew</i>)	I <i>sess</i>	'to drink'
A <i>řw</i>	I <i>tnenna</i>	'to be cooked, to be ripe'
A <i>wš</i>	I <i>tišš</i>	'to give'

g. Verbs with an internal plain vowel (*i, u, a*) prefix *t-*. In case the verb stem ends in a syllable *CeC*, the earlier plain vowel is copied into this final syllable. Note that the prefix *t-* is not added to verbs with the causative prefix *ss-* (see 4.2.2 and i. below). Examples:

²² *qqaq* also functions as the suppletive Imperfective of *ini* 'to say'.

A <i>ffurpež</i>	I <i>tfurruž</i>	'to entertain'
A <i>ru</i>	I <i>tru</i>	'to weep'
A <i>iraa</i>	I <i>tiraa</i>	'to play'
A <i>ixdaq</i>	I <i>tixdaq</i>	'to choose'
A <i>iři</i>	I <i>tiři</i>	'to be'
A <i>usu</i>	I <i>tusu</i>	'to cough'
A <i>udum</i>	I <i>tudum</i>	'to drip'

Irregular are:

A <i>ini</i>	I <i>qqaa</i>	'to say'
A <i>uyua</i>	I <i>ggua</i>	'to walk'

h. Verbs without an internal plain vowel (*i, u, a*) that have more than three stem consonants, or three consonants one of which is geminated, take the prefix *t*. With some verbs a vowel is inserted between the last two consonants of the stem. In this group of verbs, initial geminates are degeminated after *t*-, e.g.

A <i>fedžeq</i>	I <i>tfedžeq</i>	'to split'
A <i>gewwed</i>	I <i>tgewwed</i>	'to lead'
A <i>kemmer</i>	I <i>tkemmar</i>	'to finish'
A <i>bbarršen</i>	I <i>tḥarršin</i>	'to become black'
A <i>ššaršaq</i>	I <i>tšaršaq</i>	'to cluck'

i. Verbs which have the causative prefix *ss-* or one of its variants (see 4.2.2) never prefix *t*-. In case the verb ends in a syllable *CeC*, often a plain vowel is inserted. This vowel is either *a*, or it is a copy of an earlier vowel in the stem, e.g.

A <i>ssefhem</i>	I <i>ssefham</i>	'to make understand'
A <i>ssesmed</i>	I <i>ssesmaḍ</i>	'to make cold'
A <i>ssiḡ</i>	I <i>ssiriḡ</i>	'to wash'
A <i>ssusef</i>	I <i>ssusuf</i>	'to spit'
A <i>ssufey</i>	I <i>ssufuy</i>	'to let out'

Causatives derived from verbs of the type *aḍef* 'to enter' (i.e., with two consonants and initial *a* in the Aorist) change the initial *a* to *i* in the Aorist causative. In the Imperfective of the causative, the *a* reappears and is copied in the final syllable, e.g.

A <i>ssiḍef</i>	I <i>ssaḍaf</i>	'to let in'
A <i>ssiḥer</i>	I <i>ssaḥar</i>	'to fatigue'

Something similar is found in the causative of the verb *žžawen* 'to be satiated':

A <i>ssyiwen</i>	I <i>ssyawan</i>	'to satiate'
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j. It is impossible to make an Imperfective of a verb with the passive prefix *ttwa-* (Cadi 2006: 172ff.).

4.3.5 The derivation of the Negative Imperfective

The Negative Imperfective is derived in a very regular manner from the positive Imperfective: any *a* in the positive Imperfective is changed to *i*. When there is no *a* present, the two forms are homonymous. Examples:

A <i>bedd</i>	I <i>tbedda</i>	NI <i>tbeddi</i>	'to stand'
A <i>aḍef</i>	I <i>taḍef</i>	NI <i>tiḍef</i>	'to come in'
A <i>ḍweř</i>	I <i>ddakk*ar</i>	NI <i>ddikk*ir</i>	'to become'
A <i>ssidēf</i>	I <i>ssaḍaf</i>	NI <i>ssidif</i>	'to let in'
A <i>ḍer</i>	I <i>ddař</i>	NI <i>ddiř</i>	'to cover'

Note that *a* is not changed to *i* when it results from the vocalisation of **er*, e.g.

A <i>mžaa</i>	I <i>mežžaa</i>	NI <i>mežžaa</i>	'to mow' (<i>aa</i> < * <i>er</i>)
A <i>qazem</i>	I <i>qazzem</i>	NI <i>qazzem</i>	'to open' (<i>qa</i> < * <i>er</i>)
A <i>yaqq</i>	I <i>yarreq</i>	NI <i>yarreq</i>	'to be stuck, to drown' (<i>qa</i> < * <i>er</i>)

4.4 A special verb group: *aḥ*, *ruḥ*, *raḥ* 'to go'

The verb 'to go' has a number of special forms. One of the characteristics of these verbs is that the Imperative is different from the Aorist:

Imperative:	<i>ruḥ</i>
A	<i>raḥ</i> ~ <i>aqḥ</i>
P	<i>ruḥ</i>
NP	<i>ruḥ</i>
I	<i>ṭraḥ</i> ~ <i>ṭaḥ</i>
IN	<i>ṭriḥ</i> ~ <i>ṭiḥ</i>

Related to this is the verb *qagg*eh* 'to go home'.

5. Personal pronouns

There are several series of pronouns in Tarifiyt. The most important divide is between free pronouns and bound pronouns.

5.1 Free pronouns

The free pronouns are as follows:

	Free Pronouns
1SG	<i>nešš</i>
2SG:M	<i>šekk</i>
2SG:F	<i>šemm</i>
3SG:M	<i>netta</i>
3SG:F	<i>nettaṭ</i>
1PL	<i>neššin</i>
2PL:M	<i>kenniw</i>
2PL:F	<i>kennint</i>
3PL:M	<i>niṭni ~ nihni</i>
3PL:F	<i>niṭenti ~ nihenti</i>

PL:M forms refer to groups that consist either exclusively of males or of males and females. PL:F forms refer to an exclusively female group.

Free pronouns are used in several syntactic contexts. In the first place, they appear in non-verbal sentences, e.g.

<i>nešš ḡ Mimun</i>	'I am Mimoun'
I / PRED / Mimoun	
<i>ḡ nešš</i>	'it's me'
PRED / I	

In the second place, they occur before or after the central part of the clause in topic or post-topic position, e.g.

nešš, yesseqsa-ayi Mimun 'as for me, Mimoun has asked me'
 1 / he.asked^P-me^{DO} / Mimoun

tezz-it, netta 'she has seen him, him'
 she.saw^P-him^{DO} / he

In these uses, free pronouns may refer to subjects, objects or to nouns with any other syntactic function. The free pronouns can also be used after a number of prepositions, e.g.

uḍaḍbi wanita ḍ arifi am šekk
 probably / this.one / PRED / Riffian^{M:SG:F} / like / you^{M:SG}
 'this one is probably a Riffian like you'

5.2 Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns occur in several series. First Direct object and Indirect object clitics to the verb will be treated, then prepositional and post-nominal pronouns. In the part on verbal clitics the deictic element *d* 'hither' will also be included, because of its morpho-syntactic connection to the pronominal clitics.

5.2.1 Direct object pronouns

Direct object pronouns have slightly different shapes depending on their place before or after the verb, and, when post-verbal, on the shape of the verb they cliticize to (on the conditions of clitic placement, see 7.3). There are three sets, which will be called post-verbal I, post-verbal II, and pre-verbal. Post-verbal II pronouns differ from post-verbal I pronouns because they have an additional *i* before the pronoun. Pre-verbal pronouns differ from post-verbal I pronouns because they have an additional *ḍ* before vowel-initial clitics.

	Direct object bound pronouns		
	post-verbal I	post-verbal II	pre-verbal
1SG	<i>ayi</i>	<i>ayi</i>	<i>ḍayi</i>
2SG:M	<i>š ~ šekk</i>	<i>iš ~ išekk</i>	<i>š</i>
2SG:F	<i>šem</i>	<i>išem</i>	<i>šem</i>
3SG:M	<i>t</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>t</i>
3SG:F	<i>t ~ teṭ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t(t)</i>
1PL	<i>aney ~ ay</i>	<i>aney ~ ay</i>	<i>ḍaney ~ ḍay</i>
2PL:M	<i>kenniw</i>	<i>ikenniw</i>	<i>kenniw</i>
2PL:F	<i>kennint</i>	<i>ikennint</i>	<i>kennint</i>
3PL:M	<i>ten (~ yen)</i>	<i>iten</i>	<i>ten</i>
3PL:F	<i>tent (~ yent)</i>	<i>itent</i>	<i>tent</i>

The variants *-yen* and *-yent* of the third person plural are only used after the pseudo-verbs *aqqa* 'presentative', *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past' (see chapter 8), e.g.

qa-ten diha = *qa-yen diha* 'they are over there'
QA-them^{MDO} / there

Post-verbal II pronouns are used in two contexts:

- a. When the verb form has no suffix and ends in a consonant, e.g.

yessufy-it 'he has let him out'

When the word ends in *aa* (i.e. it has an underlying /r/), the Post-Verbal II pronouns are also used, and the final *r* reappears, e.g.

yemžaa 'he has harvested'
yemžar-it 'he has harvested it'

- b. When the verb form has no suffix and ends in the changing vowel of the Perfective of two-consonantal verbs (see 4.1), e.g.

yešš-it 'he has eaten it' (cf. *yešša* 'he has eaten')

When the verb ends in another vowel, or in a person suffix, Post-verbal I pronouns are used, e.g.

yessru-ten 'he made them cry'
ssufyex-t 'I have let him out' (with the 1SG suffix *-ey*)

Pre-verbal pronouns are used when the clitics stand before the verb, e.g.

wi dayi-yessufyen? 'who has made me go out?'
who / me^{PO}-letting.out^P

5.2.2 Indirect object pronouns

Indirect object pronouns have two series of allomorphs, a post-verbal and a preverbal one. The only difference is the presence of *d* before the pronoun in the preverbal forms.

	Indirect object bound pronouns	
	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal
1SG	<i>ayi</i>	<i>ḍayi</i>
2SG:M	<i>aš</i>	<i>ḍaš</i>
2SG:F	<i>am</i>	<i>ḍam</i>
3SG (M/F)	<i>as</i>	<i>ḍas</i>
1PL	<i>aney ~ ay</i>	<i>ḍaney ~ ḍay</i>
2PL:M	<i>awen</i>	<i>ḍawen</i>
2PL:F	<i>akent ~ ašent</i>	<i>ḍakent ~ ḍašent</i>
3PL:M	<i>asen</i>	<i>ḍasen</i>
3PL:F	<i>asent</i>	<i>ḍasent</i>

Examples:

wšiy-as paḅu 'I gave him a turkey'
 I.gave^P-him^{IO} / turkey^{TS}

wi ḍas-yewšīn paḅu 'who gave him a turkey?'
 who / him^{IO}-giving^P / turkey^{TS}

Indirect object pronouns are the pronominal equivalent to phrases with the dative preposition *i*, e.g.

wšiy paḅu i Mimun
 I.gave^P / turkey^{TS} / to / Mimoun
 'I has given a turkey to Mimoun'

It is however, more common to use both the pronoun and the prepositional phrase, e.g.

wšiy-as paḅu i Mimun
 I.gave^P-him^{IO} / turkey^{TS} / to / Mimoun
 'I have given (to him) the turkey to Mimoun'

5.2.3 The deictic clitic *d* 'hither'

Tarifiyt has one deictic clitic which is cliticized to the verb, *d* 'hither'. It signals that the action described in the sentence is directed towards the locus of the speech act, i.e. towards the place where the speaker is at the moment (s)he pronounces his or her sentence. Thus, when telling that somebody has returned to Nador, it makes a difference whether the speaker is in Nador or not:

yedweř-d yaa Nnaḍuq
 he.returned^P-hither / to / Nador
 'he has come back to Nador' (speaker is in Nador)

yedweř yaa Nnaḍuq
 he.returned^P / to / Nador
 'he has gone back to Nador' (speaker is not in Nador)

With verbs that do not express motion, the element *d* refers to actions which imply a later movement towards the speaker, or which are metaphorically directed towards the speaker (e.g. because the speaker benefits strongly from the described action), e.g. in the following sentence from a story the use of *d* conveys that the things bought in the market will eventually be brought to the place where the speaker is:

min d-yesya zzi ssuq?
 what / hither-he.bought^P / from / market
 'what did he buy (hither) from the market?'

In traditional stories, like fairy tales, the speaker is often not directly involved in the story – they are about fictional events which are supposed to have happened long ago at an undetermined place. In such a context, skilled storytellers use *d* in order to add a kind of camera perspective to the story: the

storyteller locates him or herself in the fictional space and tells the story as if (s)he is there, e.g.

tessqaqeb-d iżžen temyaat
 she.knocked^P-hither / one / woman^{AS}
 'a woman knocked (hither) on the door'

In this example, the story teller locates herself inside the house (with the protagonist), and the knocking is therefore presented as happening towards her.

The element *d* has an allomorph *id* after the 3SG:M Direct object pronoun, and also after 2PL:F and 3PL:F Direct object pronouns, e.g.

<i>yeşşiwđ-ıt-id</i> he.made.arrive ^P -him ^{DO} -hither	'he has brought him (here)'
<i>yeşşiwđ-işent-id</i> he.made.arrive ^P -you ^{F:PL:DO} -hither	'he has brought you (F:PL) (here)'
<i>yeşşiwđ-ıtent-id</i> he.made.arrive ^P -them ^{F:PL:DO} -hither	'he has brought them (F:PL) (here)'

If *d* is used after a Perfective belonging to the class which has no stem-final vowel in the imperative, but *i* or *a* in the Perfective (see 4.1), the final vowel *a* is absent; instead, schwa is found, e.g.

<i>yus-ed</i> he came ^P -hither	'he has come' (cf. <i>umi d-yusa</i> 'when he came')
---	--

5.2.4 Combinations of verbal clitics

The verbal clitics can be combined. Both post-verbally and pre-verbally, the following order is respected:

Indirect Object - Direct Object - *d*

yiwy-aş-t-id
 he.brought^P-you^{M:SG:IO}-him^{DO}-hither
 'he has brought him (*t*) here (*id*) to you (*aş*)'

waa daş-t-id-yiwy
 not / you^{M:SG:IO}-him^{DO}-hither-he.brought^{NP}
 'he has not brought him (*t*) here (*id*) to you (*aş*)'

5.2.5 Bound pronouns used with prepositions

Prepositions can take pronouns, which are suffixed to them. The following table gives the basic pronominal set plus examples with three prepositions; remark the irregular form *inu* 'my'.

Bound pronouns used with prepositions				
		<i>ak(ed)</i> 'with'	<i>yaa</i> 'at'	<i>n</i> 'of'
1SG	<i>i</i>	<i>kiḍi</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>inu</i>
2SG:M	<i>š ~ k</i>	<i>kiḍeš ~ kiš</i>	<i>yaak</i>	<i>nneš</i>
2SG:F	<i>m</i>	<i>kiḍem ~ kim</i>	<i>yaam</i>	<i>nnem</i>
3SG (M/F)	<i>s</i>	<i>kiḍes ~ kis</i>	<i>yaas</i>	<i>nnes</i>
1PL	<i>ney</i>	<i>kiḍney ~ kiney</i>	<i>yaaney</i>	<i>nney</i>
2PL:M	<i>wem</i>	<i>kiḍwem ~ kiwem</i>	<i>yaawem</i>	<i>nwem</i>
2PL:F	<i>kent ~ šent</i>	<i>kikent ~ kišent</i>	<i>yaakent ~ yaašent</i>	<i>nkent ~ nšent</i>
3PL:M	<i>sen</i>	<i>kiḍsen ~ kisen</i>	<i>yaasen</i>	<i>nsen</i>
3PL:F	<i>sent</i>	<i>kiḍsent ~ kisent</i>	<i>yaasent</i>	<i>nsent</i>

Prepositions undergo changes in their shape when followed by a pronominal suffix, see 9.1.

5.2.6 Pronominal suffixes with kinship terms

A restricted set of kinship terms, belonging to Class III of nominal morphology (see 3.4), express possession by means of suffix pronominal elements. All other nouns can only form a genitival construction by means of the preposition *n*. The pronouns after kinship terms are identical to those used with prepositions, except for the presence of an element *t* before plural pronouns.

Kinship terms bound pronouns		
		'son'
1SG	-	<i>mmi</i>
2SG:M	<i>š</i>	<i>mmi-š</i>
2SG:F	<i>m</i>	<i>mmi-m</i>
3SG:M	<i>s</i>	<i>mmi-s</i>
1PL	<i>tney</i>	<i>mmi-tney</i>
2PL:M	<i>twem</i>	<i>mmi-twem</i>
2PL:F	<i>tkent ~ tšent</i>	<i>mmi-tkent ~ mmi-tšent</i>
3PL:M	<i>tšen</i>	<i>mmi-tšen</i>
3PL:F	<i>tsent</i>	<i>mmi-tsent</i>

5.3 Emphasizers

There are two elements that can be used to emphasize pronominal elements. In the first place, the element *nnit* can be used to put emphasis on a subject marking on the verb or a bound pronoun; it can also appear with nouns, especially such that indicate time. In English it can often be translated with '(him)self, on (his) own', but it never has reflexive meaning. Examples:

a t-awyey nnit

AD / her^{DO}-I.bring^A / by.self

'I will marry her myself'

insi tuya ixemmeř tađunt-eni nnit

hedhehog^{TS} / PAST / he.hid^P / grease^{TS}-that / by.self

'Hedhehog had hidden the grease himself'

Free pronouns and nouns are emphasized by *simant n-*, e.g.

usiy-d neřř simant inu

I.came^P-hither / I / by.self / my

'I came myself'

... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...

... of the ...
... of the ...
... of the ...
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6. Deixis and demonstrative pronouns

6.1 Deictic elements after nouns

Tarifiyt Berber has three deictic elements, which are cliticized after a noun and after certain pronominal elements:

Post-nominal deictic clitics	
-a	'here' (near the speaker)
-in	'there' (not near the speaker, either near the hearer or far away)
-enni	'what we were talking about' (referring to something already mentioned in the context)

When the noun ends in a vowel, *y* is inserted before *-a* and *-in*, while *-enni* becomes *-nni*. When *-a*, *-in* or *-enni* follow a noun ending in schwa followed by a simple consonant, the final consonant is geminated by some speakers in order to preserve schwa. When *-enni* follows a noun in *-en*, this merges with *-enni* into *-en-ni*. When *-a* or *-in* follows a noun ending in a vocalized *r* (i.e., *aa*), the *r* reappears; this is not the case with *-enni*, e.g.

Examples of nouns with deictic clitics					
no clitic	<i>aayaz</i>	<i>stilu</i>	<i>iřes</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	<i>awessaa</i>
'here'	<i>aayaz-a</i>	<i>stilu-ya</i>	<i>iřess-a</i>	<i>ifassenn-a</i>	<i>awessar-a</i>
'there'	<i>aayaz-in</i>	<i>stilu-yin</i>	<i>iřess-in</i>	<i>ifassenn-in</i>	<i>awessar-in</i>
'afore-mentioned'	<i>aayaz-enni</i>	<i>stilu-nni</i>	<i>iřess-enni</i>	<i>ifassen-ni</i>	<i>awessaa-nni</i>
	'man'	'pen'	'tongue'	'hands'	'old man'

6.2 Pronouns with deictic elements

The deictic elements can also be combined with a series of pronominal elements, which only occur in combination with the deictic elements. This combination of pronoun and deictic functions only as an independent demonstrative pronoun ('this one is blue'), and is not used in apposition ('this man').

In the singular of the proximal deixis ('here'), there are additional emphatic forms with *-anita(t)(i)*. The following table presents the pronominal elements in combination with the deictics:

	'here'	'here/emphatic'	'there'	'afore-mentioned'
DEFINITE:SG:M	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-a-nita</i> <i>w-a-niti</i> <i>w-a-nitat</i> <i>w-a-nitati</i>	<i>w-in</i>	<i>w-enni</i>
DEFINITE:SG:F	<i>t-a</i>	<i>t-a-nita</i> <i>t-a-niti</i> <i>t-a-nitat</i> <i>t-a-nitati</i>	<i>t-in</i>	<i>t-enni</i>
DEFINITE:PL:M	<i>in-a</i>	-	<i>in-in</i>	<i>in-ni</i>
DEFINITE:PL:F	<i>tin-a</i>	-	<i>tin-in</i>	<i>tin-ni</i>
INDEFINITE	<i>ay-a</i>	-	-	<i>ay-enni</i>

A composite form including *ay-* is *man-ay-a* 'this thing', *man-ay-in* 'that thing', *man-ay-enni* 'that afore-mentioned thing'.

A second set of pronominal elements consists of the definite pronominal form followed by *inaŋ* and, in the plural, a plural suffix. They may or may not be followed by a deictic. These pronouns give very vague reference, similar to French 'ce truc-ci' or English 'thingummy'.

	neutral	'here'	'there'	'afore-mentioned'
VAGUE:SG:M	<i>winaŋ</i>	<i>winaŋ-a</i>	<i>winaŋ-in</i>	<i>winaŋ-enni</i>
VAGUE:SG:F	<i>tiŋaŋ</i>	<i>tiŋaŋ-a</i>	<i>tiŋaŋ-in</i>	<i>tiŋaŋ-enni</i>
VAGUE:PL:M	<i>inaŋen</i>	<i>inaŋenn-a</i>	<i>inaŋenn-in</i>	<i>inaŋen-ni</i>
VAGUE:PL:F	<i>tiŋaŋin</i>	<i>tiŋaŋin-a</i>	<i>tiŋaŋin-in</i>	<i>tiŋaŋin-ni</i>

Finally, there exists a set of pronouns that is exclusively used in combination with after the element *man* 'which' (see 12.3):

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>man wen</i>	<i>man ten</i>
Plural	<i>man yin</i>	<i>man tin</i>

6.3 Adverbial deictics

There are a number of adverbial deictics. The deictic elements reappear to some extent in these forms, but there are many irregularities. The table below lists the most important deictics as well as a number of related forms:

	'here'	'here / emph.'	'there'	'over- there (far away)'	'afore- mentioned'
LOCATION: 'here/there'	<i>da</i>	<i>ḡanita</i> <i>ḡanitāt</i> <i>ḡanitātī</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>diha</i>	<i>dinni</i>
PATH: 'along here'	<i>ssa</i>	<i>ssanita</i> <i>ssanitāt</i> <i>ssanitātī</i>	<i>ssiha</i>	<i>ssiha</i>	<i>senni</i>
SIMILARITY: 'like this'	<i>ammu</i>	-	-	-	<i>amenni</i>
TIME: 'now, then'	<i>řexxu</i> <i>řextu</i>	-	-	-	<i>řexdenni</i>

1. The purpose of this document is to provide information on the status of the project and to identify the areas that require further investigation. The information is being provided to the project manager and the project sponsor for their review and approval.

2. The project is currently in the planning phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

3. The project is currently in the execution phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

4. The project is currently in the monitoring phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

5. The project is currently in the closing phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

6. The project is currently in the planning phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

7. The project is currently in the execution phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

8. The project is currently in the monitoring phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

9. The project is currently in the closing phase and the project manager is working on the project plan. The project sponsor is reviewing the project plan and providing feedback.

7. The verbal complex

The verbal complex consists of the verb plus its pronominal and deictic clitics, as well as a number of preverbal particles. Verbs can be accompanied by a number of clitics, which have different behavior in different syntactic contexts. Clitics come in two types: those that are always preverbal, and those that are preverbal in certain positions and postverbal in others.

7.1 Preverbal clitics

There are a number of preverbal clitics, which add modal and polarity information to the verb.

7.1.1 Modal preverbal clitics

There are two modal preverbal clitics. The first one is *aḍ* (allomorph *ya*), which marks the event described in the verb as not yet realized. In many cases this can be interpreted as a simple future, but in other cases it implies doubt, uncertainty or a wish, e.g.

aḍ yaagga^weh 'he will go home, he might go home, he should go home'

The final *ḍ* of *aḍ* assimilates to following *t* and *n*. The assimilation is not entirely regular, as the result is *t* and *n* rather than geminated *tt* and *nn*, respectively, e.g.

aḍ teggenfa > *a teggenfa* 'she will recover'
aḍ neggenfa > *a neggenfa* 'we will recover'

When standing before (fronted) clitics (see 7.3), *aḍ* becomes *a*, e.g.

a t-yesgenfa 'he will heal him'
AD / him^{DO}-he.heals^A

a š-yesgenfa 'he will heal you'
AD / you^{M:SG:DO}-he.heals^A

The allomorph *ya* is used in relative clauses and similar constructions (clefts, content questions), as well as after a number of subordinating conjunctions (see 17.2). The syntactic contexts of the use of *ya* are the same as those where the postverbal clitics are fronted, e.g.

min ya negg 'what shall we do?'
what / AD / we.do^A

umi ya yemmet... 'when he had died...'
when / AD / he.dies^A

The second preverbal modal clitic is *xad*. It is similar in its meaning to *ad*, but adds more certainty, or greater insistence. It is not allowed in subordinated clauses and does not combine with question words. The final *d* undergoes the same assimilations as in *ad*, e.g.

xa tdu 'she will (certainly) fly away'

7.1.2 Negative preverbal clitics

The other type of preverbal clitics are the negative preverbal particles. Most frequent is *waa*, which is used in all negations, e.g.

waa teqqim ša 'she did not stay'

not / she.stayed^{NP} / not

waa t-zriy ša 'I did not see her'

not / her^{DO}-I.saw^P / not

The second negative preverbal clitic, *wiř* or *wi*, is optionally used in prohibitives, e.g.

wiř ggua ša ~ wi ggua ša ~ waa ggua ša 'don't go!'

not! / walk! / not

7.1.3 Combination of preverbal clitics

Normally, *ad*, *xad* and *waa* are not combined. The negation of a phrase with *ad* or *xad* is made by means of *waa* followed by a Negative Imperfective, and the modal particle does not occur in this expression, e.g.

waa gguan ša

not / they^M.walk^I / not

'they will not walk' (not: ***waa ad uyuan ša*; ***waa ya uyuan ša*)

7.2 Moveable clitics

The following clitics are postverbal in neutral contexts, but are put before the verb in a number of specific syntactic contexts:

- Pronominal clitics of the Indirect object
- Pronominal clitics of the Direct object
- The deictic *d* 'hither'
- Prepositions with a pronominal suffix
- The deictic adverbs *da* 'here', *din* 'there', *dinni* 'there', *ssa* 'this way', *ssenni* 'that way'

The relative order is Indirect Object – Direct Object – *d* – Preposition, e.g.

yiwy-am-t-id zzayes

he.brought^P-you^{FSGAO}-him^{DO}.hither / with.it

'he brought him (t) hither (d) to you (am) with it (zzayes) (e.g. with the car)'

7.3 Clitic fronting

Clitic fronting is the process by which postverbal moveable clitics are put before the verb. Where applicable, clitic fronting is obligatory for Indirect object pronouns, Direct object pronouns and with the element *d*. Prepositions with a pronominal suffix may or may not undergo clitic fronting, depending on the amount of emphasis put on them: the more emphasis, the lesser the chance of a fronted position. The same obtains with the deictic adverbs, e.g.

a t̪ zzayes yawi
AD / him^{DO} / with.it / he.brings^A
'he will bring him with it'

a t̪-yawi zzayes
AD / him^{DO}-he.brings^A / with.it
'he will bring him with it'

a ssenni nekk ?
AD / that.way / we.pass^A
'shall we pass by there?'

a nekk ssenni ?
AD / we.pass^A / that.way
'shall we pass by there?'

When fronted, the same order of elements is found as in postverbal position, e.g.

a dam-t-id zzayes yawi
AD / you^{FSGIO}-him^{DO}-hither / with.it / he.brings^A
'he will bring him (t) hither (d) to you (am) with it (zzayes)'

Clitic fronting is fully predictable otherwise. It occurs in the following syntactic contexts:

- a. After the preverbal particles *a(d)*, *xa(d)* and *waa*, e.g.

a šem-awyey
AD / you^{FSGDO}-I.take^A
'I will marry you'

waa šem-tiwyey ša
not / you^{FSGDO}-I.take^{NI} / not
'I will not marry you'

- b. In relative clauses with or without the relative marker *i*, e.g.

aayaz d-yusin
man^{FS} / hither-coming^P
'the man that has come here'

aayaz i d-iwyey
man^{FS} / that / hither-I.brought^P
'the man that I have brought here'

- c. In cleft sentences (a subclass of relative clauses, see 15.3), e.g.

q̄ baba i d-yiwden

PRED / my.father / that / hither-arriving^P

'it is my father who has arrived here'

- d. In question word questions (a subclass of cleft sentences, see 15.4), e.g.

wi d-yusin?

who / hither-coming^P

'who has come here?'

- e. After a number of conjunctions: *xemmi* 'the moment that', *umi* 'when', *q̄ber* 'before', *ař* 'until', *meelik* 'if', *mři* 'if':

umi d-yusa

when / hither-he.came^P

'when he came here'

ař d-tased

until / hither-you.come^A

'until you come (here)'

meelik d-yusa

if / hither-he came^P

'if he would have come'

q̄ber d ya yas

before / hither / AD / he.comes^A

'before he will come'

Conditions b-e are the same as those in which the particle *q̄d* has the allomorph *ya*, e.g.

ařrud-enni ya niq̄d

clothes^{SC}-that / AD / we.wear^A

'the clothes that we are going to wear'

mameř ya negg?

how / AD / we.do^A

'what are we going to do?'

ya always stands immediately before the verb; other clitics, if present, come before *ya*, e.g.

wenni d ya yasen

the.one^M / hither / AD / coming^A

'the one that will come here'

neřř i t̄ ya yawyen

I / that / him^{DO} / AD / carrying.to^A

'it is I who is going to marry him'

mayemmi t̄ ya tenyed?

why / her^{DO} / AD / you^{SC}.kill^A

'why are you going to kill her?'

xemmi d ya ʔas yemma-ʔney
 when / hither / AD / she.comes^A / mother-our
 'when our mother will come'

When the negative preverbal particle *waa* occurs with fronted moveable clitics, it precedes the other clitics, also in relative clauses, question word questions and clefts, e.g.

mayemmi waa d-ʔusid?
 why / not / hither-you^{SC}.came^P
 'why haven't you come?'

d nešš i waa t-yezrin
 PRED / I / that / not / him^{DO}-seeing^{NP}
 'it is me who didn't see him'

8. Pseudo-verbs

In addition to normal verbs, there are a couple of elements that on the one hand lack some basic verbal properties (e.g. aspectual morphology), but on the other hand allow for the adjunction of pronominal clitics and the deictic *d*, otherwise only possible with verbs. Because of their ambiguous nature they are called here pseudo-verbs. They are not unlike French constructions such as *le-voici* 'here he is', where one has a particle *voici* 'here', which gets a Direct object pronominal clitic *le* 'he'. The most important pseudo-verbs are presented below.

8.1 *qa* 'present relevance'

On the meaning of this element, see 13.4.1. When used in a non-verbal sentence, this particle regularly takes Direct object pronouns which encode the subject of the non-verbal sentence, e.g.

qa-t diha 'he is over there'
QA-him^{DO} / over.there

The particle *qa* cannot be negated, nor does it appear in subordinated contexts.

8.2 *tuya* 'past'

On the meaning and further uses of this element, see 13.4.2. When used in a non-verbal sentence, the element *tuya* regularly takes Direct object pronouns which encode the subject, e.g.

tuya-š d ameddukeř inu
PAST-you^{M.SG.DO} / PRED / friend^{FS} / my
'you used to be my friend'

When *tuya* + Direct object appears in a context where pronominal clitics are fronted (see 7.3), the clitics appear before the particle, e.g.

mani š-tuya? 'where have you been?'
where / you^{M.SG.DO-PAST}

In negation, *tuya* has the form *tuyi*, e.g.

waa š-tuyi ša d ameddukeř inu
not / you^{M.SG.DO-PAST-NEGATIVE} / not / PRED / friend^{FS} / my
'you were not my friend'

8.3 *aqqa* 'presentative'

The presentative *aqqa* is followed by a noun or by a Direct object and/or an Indirect object clitic; when followed by a Direct object clitic it has the form *aqq*, e.g.

<i>aqqa txaðent</i> here.is / ring	'here is the ring'
<i>aqq-et</i> here.is-it ^{F:DO}	'here it is'
<i>yumayen aqq-et ða ttett</i> two.days / here.is-her ^{DO} / here / she.eats ^I	'since two days she is here and eats'
<i>aqq-awem txaðent</i> here.is-you ^{M:PL:IO} / ring	'here is a ring for you'
<i>aqq-awem-t</i> here.is-you ^{M:PL:IO} -it ^{F:DO}	'here it is for you'

When not followed by a noun or a pronoun, it is a marker of attention, something like English 'lol', e.g.

<i>aqqa řexxu tfaq-ed</i> here.is / now / she.woke.up ^P -hither
'lol now she has woken up'

It is part of the set greeting phrase *aqq-eš mliħ* 'are you well?'

Aqqa is often preceded by an other presentative, *ha*, e.g.

<i>nešš, ha aqq-ayi</i> I / look! / here.is-me ^{DO}	'as for me, look, here I am!'
---	-------------------------------

8.4 *tyiř* 'it seems'

When used as a pseudo-verb, *tyiř* is always followed by an Indirect object suffix. The construction is best translated as 'he thinks', e.g.

<i>tyiř-asen temmuř</i> seem-them ^{M:IO} / she.died ^P
'they thought she had died (lit. it seemed to them she had died)'
<i>tyiř-ayi ð ššeħħ</i> seem-me ^{IO} / PRED / truth
'I thought it was true (lit. it seemed to me it was the truth)'

The pronominal elements are put before *tyiř* in contexts where clitics are fronted, e.g.

<i>waa ðayi-tyiř bu ð ššeħħ</i> not / me ^{IO} -seem / not / PRED / truth
'I didn't think it was true'

There is an alternative construction in which *tyiř* is a defective verb with only one aspectual stem, but conjugated according to the normal conjugation, e.g.

tyiřey d řřehh

I.think / PRED / truth

'I thought it was true'

tyiřen aženna yewđa-d

they^M.think / sky^{FS} / he.fell^P-hither

'they thought the sky had fallen down'

8.5 ay 'here you are'

The element *ay* is used when presenting something to somebody. It is always followed by an Indirect object pronoun indicating the recipient; in addition there may be a Direct object pronoun indicating the object that is presented, e.g.

ay-am

take!-you^{F:SG:IO}

'here you are!'

ay-am

take!-you^{F:SG:IO}-her^{DO}

'here you have it!'

9. Prepositions

There are several types of prepositions in Tarifiyt. In the first place there is a restricted set of basic prepositions. Basic prepositions can be linked immediately to a noun or a pronominal suffix. In the second place there are prepositional complexes, which consist of a preposition-like element linked to the noun by means of another, basic, preposition.

9.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions have different allomorphs according to whether they are used before a noun, before a pronoun or alone (as in certain types of relative clauses and in content questions, see 15.2.4). When used before a noun, some prepositions have different allomorphs depending on the initial element of the noun. The allomorphs are listed in the following table. Almost all basic prepositions are followed by nouns in the Annexed State. In the table those prepositions that are followed by the Free State are indicated by (+FS).

	before noun	before pronoun	standing alone
'in'	<i>di</i>	<i>daj-</i>	<i>di</i>
'on'	<i>x</i>	<i>xaf- ~ xa-*</i>	<i>xef ~ x</i>
'towards, at'	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>
'from'	<i>zi</i>	<i>zzay-</i>	<i>zi</i>
'with' (instrumental)	<i>s</i>	<i>zzay-</i>	<i>zi</i>
'with' (comitative.)	<i>ak(ed)</i>	<i>kid ~ akid ~ ki**</i>	<i>ked</i>
'between'	<i>žaa</i>	<i>žara-</i>	-
'under'	<i>adu, sadu</i>	<i>adu nn-, sadu nn-</i>	-
'to' (dative)	<i>i</i>	Indirect object <u>or</u> <i>i</i> + free pronoun	<i>umi</i>
'of'	<i>n</i>	<i>nn-***</i>	-
'until'	<i>ař (+FS)</i>	-	-

'without'	<i>bṛa</i> (+FS)	<i>bṛa</i> + free pronoun	-
'like'	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i> + free pronoun	-
'like'	<i>amešnaw</i> (+FS)	<i>amešnaw</i> + free pronoun	-
'and'	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> + free pronoun	-

* With 1SG only *xaf-i*, otherwise free variation (*xaf-es* ~ *xa-s* 'on him')

** 1SG: only *kiḏ-i* or *akiḏ-i*, otherwise free variation

*** 1SG: *inu*

The prepositions *di* and *zi* have amalgamated special forms when followed by *w* or *u* and *y* and *i*:

di + *w/u* > *degg^w* ~ *gg^w*

zi + *w/u* > *zegg^w*

di + *y/i* > *degg* ~ *gg*

zi + *y/i* > *zegg*

Examples:

di ssuq

in / market

'in the market' (before noun)

degg^w draa ~ *gg^w draa*

in / mountain^{AS}

'on the mountain' (before *w*-initial noun)

(< **di wedraa*)

degg iri ~ *gg iri*

in / neck^{AS}

'on the neck' (before *y*-initial noun)

(< **di yiri*)

dayi, *dayes*

'in me', 'in him/her' (before pronouns)

axxam i di yetyima

room^{FS} / that / in / he.sits^I

'the room in which he sits' (standing alone)

min di ya tadfed?

what / in / AD / you^{SG}.enter^A

'into what will you enter' (standing alone)

The last two examples illustrate contexts in which the preposition stands alone, first with a relative clause (*i di yetadef* 'that he will enter into'), the second with the question word *min* 'what'.

9.1.1 *di* 'in'

The basic locative preposition is *di* 'in'. In addition to its locative meaning, it is also used for time expressions ('on that day'). It can also be used to express a movement into something. It also occurs in a number of expressions of human characteristics, e.g.

qa-t di taddaat

QA-him^{DO} / in / house

'he is in the house'

<i>di nnhaq-nni</i>	'on that very day'
in / day / that	
<i>a ngeɛɛd di tsežžaɛ</i>	'let us climb into the tree'
AD / we.climb ^A / in / tree ^{AS}	
<i>ɖayɛs tiyit</i>	'he is clever'
in.him / cleverness	

9.1.2 x 'on'

The preposition *x* is used to denote location on top of something. It can express the location, a movement toward this location, or a movement from this location. The preposition *x* is also often used when an action is described where the object of the action is involved, but has no power of manipulating it or its results, e.g.

<i>yedweř x uyis nnes</i>	he.came.back ^P / on / horse ^{AS} / his
'he came back on his horse'	
<i>yewɖa x weyyuř</i>	he.fell ^P / on / donkey ^{AS}
'he fell from the donkey'	
<i>yekk-ed x yižž ugezɛaa</i>	he.passed ^P -hither / on / one ^{AS} / butcher ^{AS}
'he passed by a butcher' (no influence of the butcher)	
<i>yessawař xafi</i>	he.talks ^I / on.me
'he is talking about me' (no influence by me on what he tells)	

9.1.3 zi 'from'

The preposition *zi* expresses movement from a certain point.

<i>yessižž-ed zi tɓuɖɛt</i>	he.peeped ^P -hither / from / window
'he peeped from the window'	
<i>yus-ed zegg^w zayyu</i>	he.came ^P -hither / from / Zaio ^{AS}
'he came from Zaio.'	

9.1.4 yaa 'towards, at'

The preposition *yaa* expresses location or direction towards a certain point. In its locational reading it can be translated as French 'chez'.

<i>tessekk yaas mmi-s-enni</i>	she.sent ^P / at.him / son-her-that
'she send to him this son of hers'	

xeddmən yaa tāmza
 they^M.work¹ / at / ogress
 'they work at an ogress' house'

With a temporal phrase, *yaa* expresses 'at a certain time'; it is mainly used for expressions concerning less than a day's time, e.g.

yaa wezyen n nnhqa
 at / half^{AS} / of / day
 'at noon, lit. at the middle of the day'

yaa tmeddiṭ
 at / afternoon^{AS}
 'in the afternoon'

The preposition *yaa* is also used for possession. In this case, the possessor (if expressed by a noun or a full pronoun) is put in topic position and taken up by *yaa* followed by a pronoun, e.g.

nettaṭ yaas ižž uma-s
 she / at.her / one / brother-her
 'she has a brother'

ižžen temyaat yaas aabiḥ
 one / woman^{AS} / at.her / stepson^{TS}
 'a woman had a stepson (lit. a woman, with her [was] a stepson)'

9.1.5 *s* 'with (instrumental)'

The basic instrumental preposition is *s* 'with', e.g.

iqess aysum-enni s txeḍmešt
 he.cut^P / meat^{TS}-that / with / knife^{AS}
 'he cut that meat with a knife'

ieemmaqa txaṇsett-enni s yiždi
 he.filled^P / bag-that / with / sand^{AS}
 'he filled that bag with sand'

s řehria
 with / silk
 '(made) from silk'

s tmazixt
 with / Berber^{AS}
 'in Berber'

The preposition *s* is also used in a few temporal expressions, as well as in a numeral construction, e.g.

s džiřet, s nnhqa
 with / night / with / day
 'at night', 'at day'

udfen s seba

they^M.entered^P / with / seven

'the seven of them entered'

9.1.6 *aked* ~ *ak* 'with (comitative)'

The preposition *ak(ed)* expresses that something/somebody is combined with something/somebody else, e.g.

yeggua akides

he.walks^I / with.him

'he walks together with him'

yetmenya aked uma-s

he.fights^I / with / brother-his

'he always fights with his brother'

9.1.7 *žaa* 'between'

The preposition *žaa* expresses a location between two things or persons. It is also regularly used in reciprocal verbs, esp. those with the *m-* derivational prefix, e.g.

tmenyant žarasant

they^I.fight^I / between.them^{FPL}

'they fight all the time (among themselves)'

žar iduraa

between / mountains^{AS}

'between the mountains'

9.1.8 *i* 'to' (dative)

The dative preposition is mainly used before nouns. When pronominalized, it is normally substituted by the Indirect object pronoun. An alternative, more emphatic, expression has *i* followed by a free pronoun.

yewš-it i weyyuř nnes

he.gave^P-it^{MDO} / to / donkey^{AS} / his

'he gave it to his donkey'

yewš-as-t i weyyuř nnes

he.gave^P-him^{IO}-it^{MDO} / to / donkey^{AS} / his

'he gave it (to him) to his donkey'

yewš-as-t

he.gave^P-him^{IO}-it^{MDO}

'he gave it to him'

yewš-it i netta

he.gave^P-it^{MDO} / to / he.

'he gave it to him'

Often the phrase *i* + noun/free pronoun is doubled by an Indirect object pronoun:

yewš-as-t i netta

he.gave^P-him^{IO}-it^{MDO} / to / he

'he gave it (to him) to him'

In phrases where one would expect the preposition standing alone, the element *umi* is used, e.g.

d yenni umi yenyā uššen

PRED / those / to.whom / he.killed^P / jackal^{FS}

'they were those (people) for whom he had killed the jackal'

The dative preposition and the Indirect object pronoun are used to refer to a participant that is involved in the action without being entirely affected by the action. It is found with typical dative verbs, such as *ewš* 'to give'. It can also convey that only part of the Object is affected, or that the Object is emotionally involved, but not directly. In the same vein, it can mark a person to whose profit or detriment the action is executed, e.g.

mešdeyy-as i mmi

I.combed^P-him^{IO} / to / my.son

'I combed my son' (that is, his hair, not the entire person)

iyyas-as i tfunast

he.slaughtered^P-him^{IO} / to / cow^{AS}

'he slaughtered the cow'²³

yeny-am baba-m

he.killed^P-you^{FSG30} / father-your^{P-SG}

'he killed (to your detriment) your father'

syiy-am iżžen ttumubin

I.bought^P-you^{FSG30} / one / car

'I have bought you a car'

Datives and indirect object pronouns are regularly used with verbs of perception, except for 'to see', e.g.

sriy-as i mmi

I.heard^P-him^{IO} / to / my.son

'I heard my son'

9.1.9 *adu* ~ *sadu* 'under'

adu tefrewt = sadu tefrewt

under / wood^{AS}

'under the wood'

adu nn-es = sadu nn-es

under / of-3SG

'underneath it'

9.1.10 *n* 'of'

The preposition *n* is used for expressing possession and belonging.

taddaat n temyaat-eni

house / of / woman^{AS}-that

'the house of that woman'

²³ The element of partial affection comes from the fact that *yās* 'to slaughter' refers to Islamic practice, in which the throat of the animal is cut. A more precise translation would be 'he cut the throat to'.

yedži-s n temyaat-enni 'the daughter of that woman' (see 11.1)
 daughter-her / of / woman^{AS}.that

It is also regularly used with expressions of quantity, including numerals (see 10.1.1), e.g.

qabēa n tfunasin
 four / of / cows^{AS}
 'four cows'

On the morphology of this preposition, cf. also 2.4.5.

9.1.11 *ař* 'until'

The preposition *ař* 'until' is used both in temporal and in spatial meanings. It is one out of three prepositions which are followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

teqqim dīn ař tameddit
 she.stayed^P / there / until / evening^{TS}
 'she stayed there until the evening'

uyuan ař amšan-nni waa ssinen qae
 they^M.walked^P / until / place^{TS}-that / not / they^M.know^{NP} / entirely
 'they walked until a place that they did not know at all'

It is impossible to combine *ař* with a pronoun.

9.1.12 *břa* ~ *mbřa* 'without'

The preposition *břa*, *mbřa*, 'without' is followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

yus-d mbřa temyaat nnes
 he.came^P-hither / without / woman^{TS} / his
 'he came without his wife'

When pronominalized, the preposition (*m*)*břa* is followed by a free pronoun.

yus-d mbřa nihni
 he.came^P-hither / without / they^{PL}
 'he came without them'

Alternatively, a construction with the preposition *zi* 'from' is used, e.g.

yus-d mbřa zzay-sen
 he.came^P-hither / without / from-them^M
 'he came without them'

9.1.13 *am* 'like' and *amešnaw* 'like'

These synonymous prepositions behave differently as to the state of the following noun. The preposition *am* is followed by a noun in the Annexed State, while *amešnaw* is followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

am weyyuř = *amešnaw ayyuř*
 like / donkey^{AS} like / donkey^{TS}
 'like a donkey'

After these prepositions, the free pronouns are used, e.g.

wanita *d* amesřem am neřř
 this.one^M / PRED / muslim^{FS} / like / I
 'this one is a muslim just like me'

yus-d *danita ižžen ameřnaw řekk*
 he.came^F-hither / here / one / like / you^{M.SG}
 'somebody came here (who looked) just like you'

9.1.14 *d* 'and'

This preposition is only used to coordinate Noun Phrases (see 17.1). It is followed by a noun in the Annexed State. The free pronouns are used, e.g.

neřř *d* yayeřma
 I / and / my.brothers^{AS}
 'me and my brothers'

neřř *d* netta
 I / and / he
 'he and I'

9.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a prepositional element which is linked to the noun or pronoun by means of a basic preposition. There are two types of compound prepositions. The first type is linked to a noun by means of *i* 'to'; the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition, e.g.

zzař *i* řaddaāt
 in.front / to / house
 'in front of, very close to the house'

zzařes 'in front of it, very close to it'

awaan *i* řaddaāt
 behind / to / house
 'behind the house'

awaanas 'behind it'²⁴

The second type has the same construction with nouns, i.e., by means of the preposition *i*. When followed by a pronoun, it is linked to it by the genitive *n* 'of', e.g.

řřař *i* řaddaāt
 beside / to / house
 'beside the house'

²⁴ This can be interpreted in two ways: either as a pre-prepositional form *awaana-* followed by a prepositional pronominal suffix, or as a form *awaan* followed by the Indirect object pronoun. The latter interpretation is not possible with *zzařes*.

ṭṭaqf nnes
 beside / his
 'beside it'

Some frequent compound prepositions of this type are:

qibāṣ i / n	'in front of'
awru-d i / n	'towards (here)'
ayirin i / n	'towards (there)'
ažemmaḍ i / n	'on the other side of'
swadday i / n	'under'
sennež i / n	'above'

10. Quantifiers

10.1 Non-universal quantifiers and indefinites

All quantifiers and indefinites, except 'one' (see below) and the universal quantifiers ('all', 'every'), are linked to the quantified noun by means of the preposition *n* 'of', e.g.

<i>třaťa n temyarin</i>	'three women (lit. three of women)'
<i>aťtas n yewdan</i>	'many people'
<i>šwayt n waman</i>	'a bit of water'
<i>ša n waman</i>	'some water'

This is also the case of quantification by means of nouns, like in expressions as 'a grain of X', 'a bag (full) of X', e.g.

<i>tahebbušt n watay</i>	'a granule of tea'
<i>xanšet n arriš</i>	'a bag (full) of feathers'

Some borrowed adverbs have a different construction with numerals, in which the noun is immediately linked to the numeral. The numerals have special forms in this case (see 10.1.1), e.g., *teřt iyyam* '(during) three days'.

Numerals, as well as a number of other quantifiers, can be followed by a bound pronoun. In this case, there is a linking element *it*, e.g.

<i>třaťa itney</i>	'the three of us'
<i>mařra itsen</i>	'all of them'
<i>aťtas itsen</i>	'a lot of them'
<i>drus itsen</i>	'few of them'

10.1.1 Numerals

Tarifit has borrowed all numerals from Arabic, except for 'one'. The numeral *ižžen* 'one' doubles as a marker of indefiniteness, e.g.

<i>ižžen ssedžum</i>	'one ladder, a ladder'
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This is the only numeral that has a gender distinction, at least when occurring on its own. It then has the forms *ižžen* (M) and *išten* (F). When determining a noun, the feminine form is *išt*. In this position, the feminine form is *išt* only possible with Berber-morphology nouns (Class I, see 3.2.1), and even then often the masculine form is used, e.g.

<i>ižžen waayaz</i>	'one man, a man'	(masculine noun)
<i>ižžen temyaat ~ išt temyaat</i>	'one woman, a woman'	(Class I feminine noun)
<i>ižžen yabyuța</i>	'one sea gull, a sea gull'	(Class II feminine noun)

Different from other numerals, the numeral 'one' does not seem to use the genitival marker *n*. This is impossible to show for forms such as *ižžen ssedžum*, which could also be *ižž n ssedžum*, but can be shown clearly from forms starting in *t*, which lack the *n*:

išt temyaat

'one woman'

One may contrast this to a regular genitival phrase with two *t*'s, such as *tasebnešt n temyaat*, 'the scarf of the woman', where the *n* does surface. Morphologically, the final segment of *ižžen* is similar to the preposition *n*, however, see 2.4.5.

In addition to being sensitive to number, 'one' is unique among numerals because it has Annexed State forms: *yižžen*, *yišten*, *yišt*. This is the case after prepositions and with postverbal subjects when the numeral stands alone. However, with postverbal subjects where the numeral is followed by a noun, only the forms *ižžen* and *išt* are possible.

A slightly different set of numerals is used in combination with a number of loanwords used as adverbs, viz. *snin* '(during) years', *šhuq* '(during) months' and *iyam* '(during) days'. The table below lists the numerals such as found normally, as well as an example of the borrowed adverbial set, using the word 'year'.

	M	F	with borrowed temporal adverbs (example: 'year')
1 in isolation	<i>ižžen</i>	<i>išten</i>	<i>eam</i> 'one year'
before noun	<i>ižžen</i>	<i>ižžen ~ išt</i>	
2	<i>tnayen</i>		<i>eamayen</i> 'two years' (Arabic dual form)
3	<i>třaťa</i>		<i>teřt snin</i>
4	<i>qabea</i>		<i>qabe snin</i>
5	<i>xemsa</i>		<i>xems snin</i>
6	<i>setta</i>		<i>sett snin</i>
7	<i>sebea</i>		<i>sbee snin</i>
8	<i>tmenya</i>		<i>tmen snin</i>
9	<i>tesea</i>		<i>tsee snin</i>
10	<i>eešřa</i>		<i>ešřa snin</i>
11	<i>hiđeaš</i>		<i>hiđeašqa sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
12	<i>teneáš</i>		<i>teneášqa sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
13	<i>třetřaš</i>		<i>třetřašqa sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)

14	<i>q̣q̣beetaš</i>	<i>q̣q̣beetašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
15	<i>xemmeztaš</i>	<i>xemmeztašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
16	<i>settaš</i>	<i>settašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
17	<i>ṣbeetaš</i>	<i>ṣbeetašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
18	<i>ṭmentaš</i>	<i>ṭmentašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
19	<i>tseetaš</i>	<i>tseetašq̣q̣ sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
20	<i>eišrin</i>	<i>eišrin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
21	<i>waḥd-u-eišrin</i>	<i>waḥd-u-eišrin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
22	<i>ṭnayn-u-eišrin</i>	<i>ṭnayn-u-eišrin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
23	<i>ṭraṭa-u-eišrin</i>	<i>ṭraṭa-u-eišrin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
30	<i>ṭraṭin</i>	<i>ṭraṭin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
40	<i>q̣q̣bein</i>	<i>q̣q̣bein sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
50	<i>xemsin</i>	<i>xemsin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
60	<i>settin</i>	<i>settin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
70	<i>sebein</i>	<i>sebein sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
80	<i>ṭmanyin</i>	<i>ṭmanyin sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
90	<i>tesein</i>	<i>tesein sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
100	<i>mya</i>	<i>miyat sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
101	<i>mya-u-waḥit</i>	<i>mya-u-waḥit sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
102	<i>mya-u-ṭnayen</i>	<i>mya-u-ṭnayen sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
200	<i>mitayen</i>	<i>mitayen sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
300	<i>teṛt-mya</i>	<i>teṛt-myat sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
1000	<i>aṛef</i>	<i>aṛefsna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)
1000.000	<i>milyun ~ menyul</i>	<i>milyun sna</i> (also <i>eam</i>)

When counting two, some borrowed adverbs have Arabic dual forms instead of a numeral: *maq̣atayen* 'twice', *eamayen* 'during two years', *šeḥrayen* 'during two

months', *yumayen* 'during two days'. When these adverbs refer to a single occurrence, no numeral construction is used. The forms of four of these adverbs are given below. In addition the corresponding normal nouns (i.e. that are not adverbs) are given:

	'year'	'month'	'day'	'time' (French: fois)
noun	<i>asegg^{as}</i>	<i>ššhqa</i>	<i>nnhqa</i>	<i>amuq</i>
adverb (once)	<i>eam</i>	<i>šhqa</i>	<i>nnhqa²⁵</i>	<i>izz umuq</i>
adverb (twice)	<i>eamayen</i>	<i>šehrayen</i>	<i>yumayen</i>	<i>maqatayen</i>
in counting 3-10	<i>snin</i>	<i>šhuq</i>	<i>iyyam</i>	<i>imuqan²⁶</i>
in counting >10	<i>sna ~ eam</i>	<i>šhqa</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>imuqan</i>

Ordinal numbers are expressed by means of the element *wiss ~ uss* (no gender difference) followed by the numeral, e.g.

ṭamyaaṭ nnes wiss qaḳḳea
 woman^{TS} / his / ORDINAL / four
 'his fourth wife'

10.1.2 Other non-universal quantifiers and indefinites

Some other non-universal quantifiers are:

<i>aṭṭas</i> (AS: <i>waṭṭas</i>)	'much, many'
<i>aṭṭas n waman</i>	'much water'
<i>aṭṭas n ṭemyarin</i>	'many women'
<i>ḍrus</i> 'few, little'	
<i>ḍrus n waman</i>	'little water'
<i>ḍrus n ṭemyarin</i>	'few women'
<i>šwayt ~ šway</i>	'few, little'
<i>šwayt n waman</i>	'a little bit of water'
<i>šwayt iḳawen</i>	'some beans'
<i>řeḳeaḍ</i>	'a couple of'
<i>řeḳeaḍ n ṭemyarin</i>	'a couple of women'
<i>řeḳeaḍ n nekrasa</i> (< <i>řekrasa</i>)	'a couple of chairs'
<i>ša</i> 'some (both with singulars and plurals)' (basically an indefinite)	
<i>ša n waman</i>	'some water'
<i>ša n nḥaḣeṭ</i> (< <i>ṛḥaḣeṭ</i>)	'some thing'
<i>ša n yiḣḣen</i>	'somebody'
<i>ša n ṭhenḣirin</i>	'some girls'

²⁵ With deictic clitics, the *n* is not geminated: *nḥar-a* 'today', *nḥqa-nni* 'that day'.

²⁶ With quantifiers such as *ša* 'some' and *řeḳeaḍ* 'a couple (of)', the adverb has the form *maṛṛaṭ*, e.g. *ša n maṛṛaṭ* 'some times'.

10.2 Universal quantifiers

Tarifiyt has three universal quantifiers: *m(m)arra* 'all', *qae* 'fully, entirely' and *mkuř ~ kuř* 'every', all of which are borrowed from (dialectal) Arabic.

The element *marra* is used with a noun or a pronoun (free or bound, including subject affixes on the verb). It can only be used with plurals, collectives and mass nouns. It can stand alone, or it occurs before or after the element it quantifies, e.g.

žmee marra arruđ nnem
gather!^A / all / clothes^{FS} / your^{SG}
'gather all your clothes!'

yežmee-d aysum-enni marra
he.gathered^P-hither / meat^{FS}-that / all
'he gathered all that meat'

marra iyezran ssney-ten
all / rivers / I.know^P-them^{MDO}
'all rivers, I know them'

marra a day-iney 'he will kill all of us'
all / AD / us^{DO}-he.kills^A

yiwy-iten marra 'he took them all away'
he.brought^P-them^M / all

marra a d-tasent 'you must all come'
all / AD / hither-you^{F:PL}.come^A

dehšent marra 'they all laughed'
they^F.laughed^P / all

tħaay marra min yaas di taddaāt
she.ground^P / all / what / at.her / in / house
'she ground everything that she had at home'

itegg marra mayen tēxed
he.does^I / all / what / you^{SG}.want^P
'he does everything you want'

The element *qae* is mostly a quantification on a verb or an adverbial phrase, e.g.

mařa tugiđ qae 'if you entirely refuse'
if / you^{SG}.refuse^P / entirely

šħař qae? 'how much in total?'
how.much / entirely

mi š ya yegg qae?
what / you^{M:SG:DO} / AD / he.does^A / entirely
'what can he do to you at all?'

In this sense, it is commonly used in negative contexts where it translates as '(not) at all', e.g.

qa waa yaakent bu familya qae
 QA / not / at.you^{FPL} / not / family / entirely
 'you do not have any family at all'

waa ssinen qae
 not / they^M.know^{NP} / entirely
 'they don't know at all'

It also appears as a quantification on an adjective, e.g.

aneggaru qae
 last^{M:SGFS} / entirely
 'the very last'

wenni dāysen ameqqran qae
 the.one^M / in.them^M / big^{M:SGFS} / entirely
 'the one who was the very biggest'

The element *qae* mostly follows the element it quantifies, but sometimes occurs in initial position, e.g.

qae waa dasen-yenni ša
 entirely / not / them^{MEIO}-he.said^{NP} / anything
 'he didn't tell them anything at all'

The distributive universal quantifier *mkuř ~ kuř* 'every, each' is used with singular nouns. It always stands before the noun it quantifies, e.g.

kuř acešši
 every / evening^{FS}
 'every evening'

kuř ižžen yiwi tamyaat nnes
 every / one / he.brought^P / woman^{FS} / his
 'each one took his wife there'

10.3 'whoever', 'wherever', etc.

A different type of quantification is found with adverbs and conjunctions of the type 'whoever', 'wherever'. In such meanings, the element *mma* is used after the element it quantifies, e.g.

řexxu bda mani mma texsed
 now / start!^A / where / ever / you^{SG}.want^P
 'now start wherever you want'

awyem-t-id waha mameš mma tegga
 bring!^{A:MPL}-her^{DO}-hither / just / how / ever / she.does^P
 'bring her here, however she may be'

When *mma* is combined with *kuř*, it is translated as 'whenever', e.g.

kuř mma yus-d wuššen itaf-it ttaaf nnes
 every / ever / he.came^P-hither / jackal^{AS} / he.finds^I-him^{DO} / beside / his
 'whenever Jackal arrived, he found him beside him'

11. The Noun Phrase

11.1 The structure of the Noun Phrase

The core part of a noun phrase is a noun, a free pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun or a quantifier, as in (*yežž-as*) *třata* '(he left him) three (things)'. When the core is a free pronoun, it cannot be determined or modified by any element except (*m*)*mařra* 'all' or a relative clause. The basic structure of the Noun Phrase is as follows:

[Indefinite] [Quantifier] (n) [Noun/Pronoun]-[*Pro]-[Deictic] [Adjective] [*n* + Noun Phrase] [(*m*)*mařra*]

In this scheme, *Pro stands for the possessive pronouns which are suffixed to some kinship terms (see 5.2.6). In addition to this, the Noun Phrase can be modified by a relative clause, treated in chapter 15.

Indefinites precede quantifiers in the Noun Phrase, e.g.

ižžen tnayen n ddqayeq 'about two minutes, some two minutes'
one / two / of / minutes

Most quantifiers are linked to the core of the Noun Phrase by means of the preposition *n* (see 2.4.5 and 9.1.10), but some precede the core without further linking, e.g.

šwayt n waman 'a bit of water'
bit / of / water^{AS}

mařra řeşkaq-nni 'all those soldiers'
all / soldiers-that

Possessive pronouns are only suffixed to a small set of kinship terms (see 5.2.6). They precede the deictic clitics, e.g.

yemma-s-enni 'that mother of his'
mother-his-that

These kinship nouns express possession of a lexical Noun Phrase by means of double possessive marking: first with the possessive pronoun, second with a possessive phrase using the preposition *n*, e.g.

baša-s n thenziať 'the father (lit. her father) of the girl'
father-her / of / girl^{AS}

The deictic elements follow the core, but precede any other determinations. Examples:

wenni ameqqran 'the big one'
the.one^M / big^{MSGFS}

uma-s-enni ameqqran 'that big brother of his'
brother-his-that / big^{MSGFS}

yis-a n Yusef
horse^{FS}-this / of / Yusef

'this horse of Yusef'

tsara ššarie-enni marra
she.walked^P / street-that / all

'she walked through the entire street'

Possession is normally constructed by means of the preposition *n* 'of'. Possessive phrases follow the possessive pronouns and the deictic clitics, and precede *marra*. Examples:

yessi-s-enni n temza
daughters-her-that / of / ogress^{AS}
'these daughters of the ogress' (lit. these her daughters of)

aṛṛzeq nnes marra
fortune / his / all

'all his fortune'

Adjectives follow possessive pronouns (as found with kinship terms) and deictic clitics. In possessive constructions with the preposition *n* both orders are possible, e.g.

wečma-tsent-enni tameqqrant
sister-their^F-that / big^{F:SG:FS}

'this older sister of theirs'

paṛṛun nsen ameqqran
boss / their^M / big^{M:SG:FS} /

'their big boss'

paṛṛun ameqqran nsen
boss / big^{M:SG:FS} / their^M

'their big boss'

The element *marra* is either in first or in last position in the Noun Phrase (see 10.2).

11.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in Tarifiyt form a sub-class of the noun. They have all properties of normal nouns, but are special in that they can follow the core of a Noun Phrase to modify it. When functioning themselves as the core of the Noun Phrase, adjectives behave exactly like other nouns and are inflected for gender, number and state, e.g.

tameqqrant (FS)
n tameqqrant (AS)

'the big one (feminine)'

'of the big one (feminine)'

When functioning as a modifier, they agree with the noun or pronoun they modify in gender and number, but not in state; in this construction they always have the Free State, e.g.

n tmuat tameqqrant
of / earth^{AS} / big^{F:SG:FS}

'of the big country'

There are two basic constructions with adjectives when used as modifiers. The first construction is used when the Noun Phrase has a definite meaning. This may be explicit due to the use of deictic clitics, but it may also be inferred from context. It consists of simple juxtaposition of the adjective without any further linking element, e.g.

<i>tammuaṭ tameqqran</i> earth ^{FS} / big ^{FS:FS}	'the big country'
<i>tammuaṭ-a tameqqran</i> earth ^{FS} -this / big ^{FS:FS}	'this big country'

The second construction is used when the Noun Phrase is semantically indefinite. More often than not, this is explicit due to the presence of an indefinite determiner such as *ižžen* 'a', or *ša* 'some'; however, these determiners are not obligatory and indefinite semantics can also be inferred from context. In this construction the adjective is linked to the core by means of the predicative particle *ḍ* (see 13.5), e.g.

<i>ižžen weyyur ḍ ameqqran</i> one / donkey ^{AS} / PRED / big ^{MSG:FS}	'a big donkey'
<i>ayyur ḍ ameqqran</i> donkey ^{FS} / PRED / big ^{MSG:FS}	'a big donkey'

All adjectives are Class I nouns, except for *žždid* 'new'. This adjective has no gender/number inflection. Moreover, it has different syntax from the others in the definite construction. When the core is definite, *žždid* is linked to it by means of the preposition *n* 'of'. The indefinite construction is the same as with the other adjectives, e.g.

<i>qama n žždid</i> bed / of / new	'the new bed'
<i>ižžen qama ḍ žždid</i> one / bed / PRED / new	'a new bed'

Another unusual adjective is *nneyni* ~ *nneḍni* 'other'. Like *žždid* it remains the same in both genders and numbers. When modifying a noun, it is syntactically similar to normal Class I adjectives. However, when the core of the Noun Phrase is a demonstrative pronoun, it is directly suffixed to the pronominal base, e.g.

<i>aayaz-a nneyni</i> man-this / other	
	'this other man'
<i>w-enneyni</i>	'the other (SG:M)'
<i>t-enneyni</i>	'the other (SG:F)'
<i>i-nneyni</i>	'the others (PL:M)'
<i>ti-nneyni</i>	'the others (PL:F)'

Adjectival concepts are often expressed by verbs in Tarifit. In such cases, where English would use a modifying adjective, Tarifit uses a relative clause instead, e.g.

<i>quči-nni yeyran</i> car-that / being.expensive ^p	
	'the expensive car (lit. the car that is expensive)'

12. Interrogation

There are two types of interrogative sentences: those that concern the entire statement, and which can be answered by yes or no, and those that concern only part of the statement, so-called content questions (also known as wh-questions).

12.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions in Tarifiyt are mostly preceded by the element *ma*, e.g.

ma yaak ša n txadent am ta?
Q / at.you^{M:SG} / some / of / ring / like / this.here^F
'do you have a ring like this one?'

ma d šekk? 'is it you?'
Q / PRED / you^{M:SG}

After *ma*, verbal clitics remain in postverbal position, e.g.

ma iwqden-d 'have they arrived?'
Q / they^M.arrived^P-hither

It is also possible to use a rising intonation contour as the only marker of the interrogation, e.g.

d wa? 'is it this one?'
PRED / this.one^M

mliḥ ša? 'are you o.k.?'
good / some

12.2 Content questions

Content questions use interrogative pronouns. Questions of this type are akin to relative clauses in their syntax, and have a number of typical relative features, such as clitic fronting and the use of the participle when the question word is the subject of the question (see 15.4). The following basic interrogatives are found:

wi ~ u 'who(m)'

wi dawem-t-yennan? 'who told it to you?'
who / you^{M:PL:IO}-it^{F:DO}-saying^P

wi yewta uhenžia-nni? 'whom did the boy hit?'
who / he.hit^P / boy^{AS}-that

min ~ mayen 'what'

min das-tennid i Mimun? 'what did you say to Mimoun?'
 what / him^{IO}-you^{SG}.said^P / to / Mimoun

min taazzuḡ? 'what are you looking for?'
 what / you^{SG}.search^I

mayen texsed? 'what do you want?'
 what / you^{SG}.want^P

When followed by a consonant, *min* can be shortened to *mi*, e.g.

mi šem-iḡeddren? 'what changed you?'
 what / you^{I:SG:DO}-changing^P

mani 'where'

mani ttifid? 'where do you live? (lit. where are you habitually?)'
 where / you^{SG}.are^I

manis 'whence, which way'

manis ya tadfed? 'along which way will you enter?'
 whence / AD / you^{SG}.enter^A

manis d-tiwyeḡ manay-a? 'whence did you bring this?'
 whence / hither-you^{SG}.brought^P / thing-this

meṛmi 'when'

meṛmi tteṭṭsed? 'when do you usually sleep?'
 when / you^{SG}.sleep^I

mešḥar ~ šḥar 'how much, how large'

mešḥar iwezzen? 'how much does it weigh?'
 how.much / it^M.weighs^I

mayemmi, mayaa, mix 'why'

mayemmi tetruḡ? 'why are you crying?'
 why / you^{SG}.cry^I

nameš 'how'

nameš yegga manay-a? 'how did he do that?'
 how / he.did^P / thing-this

The basic question words can be extended by several means. In the first place, they may be preceded by a preposition, e.g. *zi meṛmi* 'since when', *aṛ mani* 'until where'. In the second place, *wi* 'who' and *min* 'what' can be followed by a preposition standing alone. This is part of regular relative clause structure, which has the isolated form of the preposition standing at the beginning of the relative clause in prepositional relatives (see 9.1 and 15.2.4), e.g.

min zi tuḡḡred? 'from what have you become tired?'
 what / from / you^{SG}.are.tired^P

- mi xef ya teqqimed?* 'what are you going to sit on?'
 what / on / AD / you^{SG}.sit^A
- wi ked d-tusid?* 'with whom have you come here?'
 who / with / hither-you^{SG}.came^P

The complex *ma yaa* 'why' has a lexicalized meaning and an irregular shape (*ma* rather than *mi*), e.g.

- mayaa waa d-tusid* 'why didn't you come?'
 why / not / hither-you^{SG}.came^{NP}

12.3 Interrogation on nouns ('which', 'what kind of')

For interrogation on nouns, two constructions can be used. In the first place, one may use *man* 'which' followed by a noun in the Free State; in the second place one may use *mana* 'what kind of', which is followed by a noun in the Annexed State, e.g.

- man aayaz?* 'which man?'
 which / man^{F3}
- mana waayaz-a?* 'what kind of man is this?'
 what.kind / man^{AS}-this

The element *man* can also be followed by a special set of demonstrative pronouns (see 6.2), e.g.

- man wen d-yusin* 'which one has come? / who has come?'
 which / that^{MSG} / hither-coming^P

12.4 Question words as subordinators

Like in English, it is common to use question words as subordinators in non-interrogative contexts. Examples:

- ad xzaay ma a d-yas*
 AD / I.see^A / Q / AD / hither-he.comes^A
 'I shall see if he comes'
- mani ya nafa nessens*
 where / AD / we.find^A / AD / we.spend.the.night^A
 'where we shall find (a place) we shall spend the night'

13. Aspect, mood and negation

As described in 4.3, Tarifiyt has different verb stems used to convey different aspects and moods, as well as negation. These stems can, and often must, be combined with preverbal particles, such as the modal particle *ad* and the negation particle *waa*. In addition to these preverbal particles, there are two particles that have impact on the aspectual and temporal interpretation, but which function rather on the level of the sentence: *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'.

In this chapter, first the basic uses of the positive aspectual stems, and their combination with the preverbal particles are studied. After this, the sentence modifiers *qa* and *tuya* are treated. Then constructions that can be translated by 'be' in English are treated. The final part gives an overview of negation strategies.

13.1 The Aorist

The Aorist is used with or without the particle *ad* or *xad*. Without a particle, the Aorist only appears in orders. It is the form of the normal Imperative, e.g.

adef-d 'come in!'
enter!^A-hither

In series of orders, it is possible (but not obligatory) to use an Aorist form with normal second person inflection for all but the initial order, e.g.

gg ixefnnem theřsed, tezzřed di tmuat,
do!^A / self^{TS} / your^{SG} / you^{SG}.are.sick^P / you^{SG}.lie^A / in / earth^{AS}

tegged izřen tzewda dayes řhenni
you^{SG}.put^A / one / plate^{AS} / in.it / henna.
'pretend that you are sick, lie down on the earth, and put a plate with henna'

In this example, the first order (*gg*) is an imperative, while the other orders (*tegged*) are normally inflected 2nd person Aorist forms.

Otherwise, the Aorist only occurs in combination with the element *ad* (and its allomorph *ya*), signalling that the event is not yet realized, or *xa(d)* with similar meaning, but expressing more commitment by the speaker as to the expectation, e.g.

a d-yas ead
AD / hither-he.comes^A / still
'he will come (I suppose), he may come'

xa d-yas ead
XAD / hither-he.comes^A / still
'he will certainly / no doubt come'

ad can also be followed by the Imperfective. In that case, it has habitual meaning.

ad + Aorist has the following interpretations:

- 1) A future. Although the future is by definition uncertain, the use of *ad* does not seem to stress this uncertainty; it is possible to use *ad* + Aorist for events about which one is absolutely certain, e.g., because they are religious dogmas.

tiwešša ad yiři d sseft

tomorrow / AD / he.is^A / PRED / saturday

'tomorrow it will be Saturday'

di yum-lqiyama, ad yehkem arrebba x yewdan

in / Judgement.Day / AD / he.judges^A / Lord / on / people^{AS}

'on Judgement Day, the Lord will judge over the people'

- 2) A probability, or possibility

a d-yas ead

AD / hither-he.comes^A / still

'he will come, he may come'

uđaqabbi a d-yas

probably / AD / hither-he.comes^A

'he will probably come'

- 3) When preceded by another verb, *ad* + A may take a finality ('in order to') interpretation, e.g.

tewš-asen ad arren ibawen

she.gave^P-them^{IO} / AD / they^M.plant^A / beans

'she gave them so that they would plant (*ad* + A) beans (i.e. she gave them beans that they should plant)'

ad + Aorist is found after the conjunctions *baš*, *hima* ~ *huma* 'so that', e.g.

teggen řfaxaq baš ad ssejwen lmakla

they^M.put^I / charcoal / in.order / AD / they^M.cook^A / food

'they put charcoal in order (*baš*) to cook (*ad* + A) food'

- 4) In combination with the 1PL:INJ form, *ad* is used to convey an injunction to a group of people, i.e. 'let us...', e.g.

a naqhet

'let's go'

- 5) A habit. In this function *ad* competes with the habitual or iterative reading of the Imperfective (see below). It is not unlike the English use of 'would' in sentences like 'they would clean the house every morning', although, different from English, the Berber construction is not restricted to past contexts, e.g.

ad aazun x yemma-tsen ad sseqsan

AD / they^M.search^A / on / mother-their / AD / they^M.ask^A

'they looked (all the time) (*ad* + A) for their mother, they asked (all the time) (*ad* + A)'

In many cases, *ad* + Aorist in this meaning is found in a context where the habituality or repetition is expressed by the Imperfective earlier on, e.g.

itawi tixsi-nni a t-yessidef, a t-id-yarr

he.bringst / sheep-that / AD / her^{DO}-he.introduces^A / AD / her^{DO}-hither-he.puts.back^A

'he brought (I) all the time the (same) sheep, he would let (ad + A) it in and bring (ad + A) it back'

6) A somewhat unexpected use of *ad* + Aorist is after the conjunction *umi* 'when', relating to a past event. In this case, the modal meaning of *ad* is completely obliterated. In this subordinated context always the allomorph *ya* is used, e.g.

umi ya yemyaq iqess-ayi ifassen

when / AD / he.is.big^A / he.cut^P-me^{DO} / hands

'when he had grown up (ad + A), he cut off my hands'

It is also possible to use the Perfective after *umi*; the exact difference between the two constructions is not clear.

13.2 The Imperfective

The Imperfective is mainly used in the following three contexts:

1. in order to express that the event happens habitually or repeatedly, e.g.

ižžen yetkeyyafssbasa

one / he.smokes^I / hasheesh.pipes

'somebody smokes habitually (I) hasheesh pipes'

asrem xmi yetmetta di řebħaa, ineřar-it-id řebħaa

fish^{TS} / when / he.dies^I / in / sea / he.throwst^I-him^{DO}-hither / sea

'a fish, when it dies (I) in the sea, the sea throws (I) it out (on the land)'

a kiř d-iřehħeg žženn iteqg qae mayen texsed

AD / with.you^{MSG} / hither-he.arrives^A / djinn / he.does^I / entirely / what / you^{SG}.want^P

'a ghost will come out (ad + A) to you who does (I) everything you want'

yetqedžab i teħramin uřa d iřten ma řus-az-d

he.tried^I / to / girls^{AS} / even / PRED / one^F / not / she.went^P-her^{DO}-hither

'he tried (the shoe) (I) with the girls (one after the other), but it did not fit (P) any of them'

When accompanied by *ad*, the Imperfective expresses a non-realized event that is to occur habitually or several times, e.g.

a dař-ntiř min zi ya řeiřed

AD / you^{MSG}-we.give^I / what / from / AD / you^{SG}.live^A

'we will always give (I) you what you will live by (ad + A)'

2. In order to express an event of longer duration. In most cases, this is emphasized by the repetition of the Imperfective verb, as in the example below.

amenni yeggua yeggua yeggua yetseqsa yetseqsa

like.this / he.walks^I / he.walks^I / he.walks^I / he.asks^I / he.asks^I

'thus he went (I) and went (I) and went (I) and asked (I) and asked (I)'

It is possible to use *ad* + I in order to express a habitual/iterative of an event of longer duration. This construction is similar to the habitual use of *ad* + A, but adds an element of duration. E.g. in the following sentence from a story, two boys flee repeatedly from an ogress and have to walk for a long time. The repetition is expressed by the use of *ad*, the longer duration by the use of the Imperfective and the repetition of the verb:

ad gguan ad gguan ad gguan

AD / they^M.walk^I / AD / they^M.walk^I / AD / they^M.walk^I

'they would go (*ad* + I) and go (*ad* + I) and go (*ad* + I) (time and again)'

3. In order to express an ongoing action (progressive). In its progressive use, the Imperfective is almost always accompanied by the particle *qa*. As the progressive implies simultaneity to a certain time point (mostly the present), while *qa* expresses relevance to the moment of speaking, this is not unexpected. Examples:

qa baḥa qa iteddez ari, aqzin qa yetzu

QA / my.father / QA / he.pounds^I / esparto^{FS} / dog^{FS} / QA / he.barks^I

'(qa) my father is pounding (qa I) esparto grass and the dog is barking (qa I)'

According to general restrictions on the use of *qa* (see 13.4.1), it is not used when the verb stands in a subordinated clause, including cleft constructions and content questions, e.g.

min ḍa ttegged?

what / here / you^{SG}.do^I

'what are you doing (I) here?'

4. The Imperfective without *ad* or *qa* is obligatory after a number of operator verbs, among others:

ḥda + I 'to start something', e.g.

yebḍa usaadun nnes itett-it

he.started^P / mule^{AS} / his / he.eats^I-it^{MDO}

'his mule started to eat (I) it'

qqim + I 'to start doing something and go on with it'

yeqqim yeṣṣaṭ-ṭ itazzeṣ xas

he.stayed^P / he.beats^I-him^{DO} / he.runs^I / on.him

'he started to beat (I) him and run (I) after him (and went on doing this for a while)'

13.3 The Perfective

The Perfective has two basic interpretations, one dynamic, the other stative.

1. In its dynamic interpretation, the Perfective mainly refers to an event in the past, and is used, among others, as the normal narrative form, e.g.

iẓzen nnhaq yenna-as yinsi i wuṣṣen

one / day / he.said^P-him^{DO} / hedgehog^{AS} / to / jackal^{AS}

'one day, Hedgehog said (P) to Jackal'

When used in its dynamic interpretation, labile verbs (see 4.2.1) have a transitive reading, as for example with the verb *εemmaqa* 'to fill, to be full':

εemmaqa uyarraf s waman
 he.filled^P / jug^{TS} / with / water^{AS}
 'he filled [P] the jug with water'

2. In its stative interpretation, the Perfective refers to a state. This state has no explicit reference to time: it can refer both to past and present states, e.g.

Mrič tudes
 Melilla / she.is.close^P
 'Melilla is nearby [P]'

When taking a stative interpretation, labile verbs are intransitive, e.g., with the verb *εemmaqa* 'to fill, to be full':

εemmaqa uyarraf s waman
 he.(is).filled^P / jug^{AS} / with / water^{AS}
 'the jug is full of water'

In this example, the jug is the subject of *εemmaqa*, as shown by the use of the Annexed State *uyarraf*.

3. The Perfective is used in the protasis of hypothetical and counterfactual subordinate clauses.

maša teggid-ten a daš-wšey yedži
 if / you^{SG}.did^P-them^{MDO} / AD / you^{MDO}-I.give^A / my.daughter
 'if you carry (P) them out (scil. certain assignments), I shall give (ad + A) you my daughter'

mři teyrid iři tufid řxedmet tesbeh
 if / you^{SG}.studied^P / then / you^{SG}.found^P / work / it^I.is.good^P
 'if you had studied (P), you would have found (P) a good job'

13.4 The sentence modifiers *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'

Tarifiyt has two sentence modifiers, which affect the temporal and aspectual reading of the sentence, *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'.

13.4.1 *qa* 'present relevance'

The particle *qa* is used to indicate that the statement in the sentence is relevant to the time point which is taken as the ground for the statement; mostly this is the moment of speaking, i.e. the present; therefore this use will be labeled 'present relevance'. *Qa* can be combined with all aspects and moods, except the imperative, and the interpretation (or maybe rather translation into English) is different according to this.

<i>qa</i> + <i>ad</i> + Aorist	Insistence on a non-realized event; beware!
<i>qa</i> + Imperfective	1. Progressive (very frequent) 2. Habitual relevant to the present situation (rare)
<i>qa</i> + Perfective	1. Dynamic Perfect 2. State with present relevance

Ađ + Aorist can be combined with the particle *qa*. In this case, it is often used as a warning 'beware of!', e.g.

qawer, qa a d-yas baba, qa a š-inex
 flee! / QA / AD / hither-he.comes^A / my.father / QA / AD / you^{M:SG:DO}-he.kills^A
 'flee! my father will come [*qa ađ* + A] and he will kill [*qa ađ* + A] you!'

qa a taahed yaa barra
 QA / AD / you^{SG}.go^A / to / outside
 'beware of going out!, do not go out!'

qa ađ irah yaa barra
 QA / AD / he.goes^A / to / outside
 'beware that he goes out!'

This is not the only possible interpretation, compare:

qa a trahed!
 QA / AD / you^{SG}.go^A
 'don't go!'

qa a trahed a t-tafed dinni
 QA / AD / you^{SG}.go^A / AD / him^{M:SG:DO} / you^{SG}.find^A / there
 'you will go, and find him there'

As mentioned before the combination of *qa* + progressive imperfect is very frequent.

baba qa yeggua-d
 my.father / QA / he.comes^I-hither
 'my father is coming'

It is possible to stress the present relevance of a habitual event by means of *qa*. This is not very frequent though, e.g.

qa yetşeddae-aney
 QA / he.disturbs^I-us^{DO}
 'he always disturbs (I) us (and that makes me take action)'

As mentioned above the Perfective can have a dynamic and a stative interpretation. When preceded by *qa*, the past reading of the dynamic Perfective leads to a "past with present relevance" reading, which is similar to the English Perfect, e.g.

qa iemmaqa ayarrafş waman
 QA / he.filled^P / jug^{TS} / with / water^{AS}
 'he has filled [*qa P*] the jug with water'

qa yenna-am użedżid
 QA / he.said^P-you^{I:SG:DO} / king^{AS}
 'the king has told [*qa P*] you...'

The stative reading of the Perfective can also be combined with *qa*. In that case, the described state is shown to be highly relevant to the present situation. Thus the sentence *Mřič řudes* 'Melilla is nearby', without *qa*, is likely to be given as a

statement about general geography, e.g., in answer to a question by somebody sitting in a café in Nador, and wondering how far away the Spanish enclave is. Compare the same sentence with *qa*:

Mřič qa tudes
 Melilla / QA / she.is.close^p
 'Melilla is close'

In this sentence, the closeness of Melilla is relevant to the present situation of the speaker. One likely context would be an answer by a taxi driver to somebody who is travelling to Melilla. The closeness of Melilla is not only an interesting fact, but has immediate consequences for the participants in the conversation.

Qa also appears in non-verbal sentences (see 13.5). In that case it is often combined with direct object pronouns. *Qa* is extremely common in non-verbal sentences expressing location (where it is quasi-obligatory), but also appears in attributive constructions (see 13.5). The particle *qa* can be combined with other preverbal particles, such as *waa* 'negation', *tuya* 'past', and *ad* 'non-realized', e.g.

ṭamza qa waa ttwiři, ṭṭram
 ogress / QA / not / she.sees^{NI} / obscurity
 'the ogress could not see [this explains the situation and is thus immediately relevant to the hearer], it was dark'

qa waa ssiney ša
 QA / not / I.know^{NI} / not
 'I (really) don't know'

qa tuya-yen yaam
 QA / PAST-them^{DO} / at.you^{FSG}
 'you used to have them (lit. there used to be them with you)'

Qa can be placed immediately before the verbal complex, or in sentence-initial position. It is also possible to have it twice (as long as the two *qa*'s are separated by an other word), once sentence-initial, once preverbal. Examples:

neššin qa neteiš di hulanda
 we / QA / we.liveⁱ / in / Netherlands
 'we, (qa) we live in the Netherlands'

qa azyen uženna yewda-d
 QA / half^{FS} / [of] / sky^{AS} / he.fell^P-hither
 '(qa) half of heavens has fallen down'

qa isennanen-ni qa teedu
 QA / thorns-that / QA / she.passed^P
 '(qa) concerning these thorns, (qa) she has just passed (them)'

The particle *qa* cannot be used in subordinate clauses, nor does it appear in constructions such as question word questions and clefts.

13.4.2 *tuya* 'past'

The element *tuya* puts the time reference of the sentence at a moment before the time point which is the ground for the statement. If this is the moment of speaking, *tuya* expresses a simple past; if the context already refers to the past, *tuya* marks the pluperfect, e.g.

zzman tuya tnayen n duru tsekk^{wa}

formerly / PAST / two / of / douro / she.costs¹

'in former times, a dirham (lit. two douro) used to be worth a lot'

itaqh yaa tuatut-enni tuya yarra

he.goes¹ / to / fig.tree-that / PAST / he.planted^p

'he used to go to the fig tree that he had planted (before)' (in this narrative, the basic time reference is the past; *tuya* functions as a pluperfect)

Tuya also occurs in non-verbal sentences, where it refers to a past state. In this construction it is often combined with a direct object pronoun (see 8.2; 13.5), e.g.

tuya-t d ameddukeř inu

PAST-him^{DO} / PRED / friend^{FS} / my

'he used to be my friend (but he no more is, e.g., because he died)'

tuya-ayi di taddaat

PAST-me^{DO} / in / house

'I was at home'

In verbal sentences, *tuya* immediately precedes the verbal complex. Any topicalized element comes before *tuya*, e.g.

tinin, tuya ssweřdent seksu

those^f / PAST / they^f.prepared^p / couscous

'those (women), (*tuya*) they had prepared couscous'

Different from *qa*, there is no objection to using *tuya* in subordinate clauses and similar constructions. When accompanied by a direct object pronoun, the pronoun may undergo clitic fronting where appropriate. Examples:

maelik ř-tuya d uma...

if / you^{MSG-DO}-PAST / PRED / my.brother

'if you had been my brother...'

mani ř-tuya ?

where / you^{MSG-DO}-PAST

'where were you ?'

xzaq mameř day-tuya yeqqaq

look!^A / how / us^{DO}-PAST / he.says¹

'look what he used to say to us!'

When cooccurring with a negated verb, *tuya* precedes the negative particle *waa*, e.g.

tuya waa yessin

PAST / not / he.knows^{NP}

'he didn't know'

13.5 'Be'-constructions

There are different constructions that can be translated with the verb 'to be' in English. The first type is the non-verbal sentence, the second type is a verbal construction with the verb *iři* 'to be'. The two constructions are in complementary distribution, according to aspect and syntax. There are some differences between attributive (type: 'he is a man') and locative (type: 'he is at home') constructions, but they do not concern the basic tenets of the structure, nor do they involve different verbs.

The non-verbal construction consists minimally of a predicate, which may or may not be accompanied by a subject. The form of the predicate depends on word class: when the predicate is a noun (incl. adjectives) or a pronoun, it is preceded by a special predicative particle, *d*, e.g.

d nešš

PRED / I

'it's me'

netta d amezzyan nsen 'he is the youngest of them'he / PRED / small^{M.SG.FS} / their*aayaz nnes d lmalik*man^{FS} / her / PRED / king

'her husband is the king'

According to regular assimilations, when followed by a noun starting in *t*, they form an amalgam *t t*, e.g.

t tmyaat < d tmyaat

'it is a woman'

Different from its homonym *d*, used for coordinating nouns (see 9.1.14), predicative *d* is followed by the Free State, cf. the difference between the two following phrases:

*netta d aḍḥib*he / PRED / doctor^{FS}'he is a doctor' (*aḍḥib* is Free State)*netta d weḍḥib*he / and / doctor^{AS}'he and the doctor' (*weḍḥib* is Annexed State)

When the predicate is a prepositional phrase or an adverb, *d* is not used, e.g.

*qa dīn ispunya*QA / there / Spanish^{M.PL}

'there are Spaniards there'

*wanita nnes*this.one^M / his

'this here is his'

Possessive constructions are constructed by means of a prepositional phrase with *yaa* 'at' (for more information, see below), e.g.

yar-i ižžen tṭumuḥin

at-me / one / car

'I have a car'

The non-verbal construction encodes a state, and in its neutral interpretation it refers to the present. As such, it corresponds to the stative interpretation of the Perfective in verbs.

In the verbal construction the verb *iři* (P: *dža*, I: *tiři*) appears. Like a small number of other copular verbs (esp. *dweř* 'to become'), it is followed by a predicate (see chapter 16), e.g.

iři d aayaz 'be a man!'
be!^A / PRED / man^{AS}

The verbal construction appears in a number of contexts. In the first place it is found in contexts where the Aorist and the Imperfective are used, e.g.

ađ yiři d aayaz 'he will be a man' (*ađ* + Aorist)
AD / he.is^A / PRED / man^{FS}

tiři d i tanža 'I live (lit. I am always) in Tangier'
I.am^I / in / Tangier

In the second place, the verbal construction is used in relative clauses and related constructions, such as question word questions and clefts, e.g.

aayaz-enni yedžan d uma-s
man^{FS}-that / being^P / PRED / brother-his
 'the man who is his brother'

mani tedža Třayetmas?
where / she.is^P / Třayetmas
 'where is Třayetmas?'

qa d nešš i yedžan d Yusef
QA / PRED / I / that / being^P / PRED / Yusef.
 'it is me who is Yusef'

In relative clauses where the head relates to a prepositional phrase, the 'be'-verb is clipped to an invariable particle *dža* (in negations: *dži*), e.g.

řhiđ i d i dža pintura
wall / that / in / be / paint
 'the wall on which there is paint'

řhiđ i d i dža řkwazi
wall / that / in / be / windows
 'the wall in which there are windows'

The verbal construction is also used for expressing existence, e.g.

Łlah yedža 'God exists'
God / he.is^P

Both verbal and non-verbal 'be'-constructions often occur with the element *qa* 'present relevance'. In non-verbal sentences with a pronominal subject, *qa* is normally combined with a direct object pronominal clitic, which refers to the subject. There is a major difference here between attributive and possessive constructions on the one hand, and locative constructions on the other. When attributive or possessive sentences have *qa*, the particle expresses the relevance of the described state for the people involved in the conversation. Compare the two following sentences:

šem t tamezzyant
 you^{TSG} / PRED / small^{FSGFS}
 'you are young'

qa-šem t tamezzyant
 QA-you^{TSGDO} / PRED / small^{FSGFS}
 'you are young'

The first sentence is a simple description of the person that is addressed; her young age does not have many implications at the moment of speaking. The second sentence could be uttered when a father is answering his young daughter's request to be allowed to do something for which she is still to young. In this context, the young age of the girl is immediately relevant to the present, as it explains the father's refusal.

With locative expressions, on the other hand, using *qa* is the unmarked choice, e.g.

uma-s qa-t di taddaat
 brother-his / QA-him^{DO} / in / house
 'his brother is at home'

qa da ižž iyeyd
 QA / here / one / kid
 'there is a goat kid here'

It is marginally possible to have locatives without *qa*. In that case the irrelevance to the present is stressed; thus when a child is asked by his teacher about his homework on the political status of Melilla, he may answer:

Mrič, dayes ispunya
 Melilla / in.it / Spanish^{MPL}
 'Melilla, there are the Spaniards in it'

In this example *qa* can be omitted because the content is completely irrelevant for the present situation. Similarly, by saying *Mrič din uma*, 'in Melilla is my brother', without *qa*, the implication is lack of real interest in the brother – one could have such a sentence for example when talking about Melilla, and off-hand mentioning that there is a brother living over there; when the position of the brother is deemed an interesting fact in itself (and not just an interesting detail about Melilla), one should use *qa*, i.e. *Mrič qa din uma*.

Possessive constructions with *yaa* have some special characteristics. In the first place, it is impossible to have *yaa* followed by a full noun in a possessive construction. The possessor can only be expressed lexically by means of topicalization. This is different from the usage of *yaa* as a locative marker ('at'), cf. the difference between the two following sentences:

iruh yaa baḥa 'he went to my father' (*yaa* is not possessive)
 he.went^P / at / my.father

baḥa, yaa-s ttmenyat 'my father has money' (*yaa* is possessive)
 my.father / at.him / money

yar-i ižžen ṭtumuḃin 'I have a car'
at-me / one / car

A sentence like **yaa baba ṭtmenyaṭ is ungrammatical.

In possessor relatives (i.e. a construction where the head functions as the possessor in the relative clause), the same construction is used as with other prepositional relatives, featuring the clipped element *dža*, e.g.

ṭahenziaṭ i yaa dža umeddukař
girl^{FS} / that / at / be / friend^{AS}
'a girl that has a boyfriend'

ṭahenziaṭ i yaa dža imeddukař
girl^{FS} / that / at / be / friends.
'a girl that has (male) friends'

ṭahenziaṭ i waa yaa dži yemma-s
girl^{FS} / that / not / to / be^{NEG} / mother-her
'a girl that does not have a mother'

With the interrogative pronoun *wi* 'who' and *min* 'what', a further possessive construction is used. In this construction, a special participial form *yiřan* appears. This is not a regular form of the verb *iři* 'to be' – the regular Perfective form is *yedžan*. In fact, *yiřan* is probably the last remnant of a different verb, meaning 'to possess', which is attested in other Berber languages, e.g.

wi yiřan ṭtumuḃin-a 'whose car is this? (lit. who possesses this car)'
who / having^P / car-this

wi t-yiřan 'whose is it? (lit. who possesses it)'
who / it^{F:DO}-having^P

wi š-yiřan 'whose (child) are you?, who is your father?'
who / you^{M:SGDO}-having^P

min t-yiřan, ṭayarraḃuṭ-a 'what kind of boat is it (esp. what is it made of)'
what / it^{F:DO}-having^P / boat^{FS}-this

Similitive stative constructions ('to be like') use the verb *gg* 'to do, to make', e.g.

yegga am wayraq
he.did^P / like / lion^{AS}
'he is like a lion'

13.6 Negation

Negation is marked by several means, which can be combined:

1. The preverbal markers *waa* and *wiř*
2. The choice of a negative stem form of the verb (except in prohibitives)
3. The use of the particle *bu*
4. The use of a post-verbal negative particle (neutral: *ša*)

13.6.1 The preverbal negative particles

The preverbal marker *wiř* ~ *wi* is only used in prohibitives; it is also possible to use *waa* in this context. Irrespective of the choice of the particle, the verb is in the (positive!) Imperfective form, e.g.

wiř ssawař = *waa ssawař* 'don't speak! (I)'
 cf. *waa issiwiř ša* 'he does not speak (NI)'

In all other contexts, only *waa* is used, followed by a Negative Perfective or by a Negative Imperfective (on *ma* in negative clauses, see 13.6.5).

13.6.2 The negative stem forms of the verb and negation of non-verbal sentences

The use of the negative stems corresponds to positive constructions in the following manner:

Positive	Negative
Imperative	<i>waa/wiř</i> + (positive) Imperfective imperative
<i>ađ</i> + Aorist	<i>waa</i> + Negative Imperfective
Imperfective	<i>waa</i> + Negative Imperfective
Perfective	<i>waa</i> + Negative Perfective

In the negation of non-verbal sentences, two structures are found. In the first structure, the predicate is negated by means of the particle *waadži*.²⁷ This is the case when the predicate is not a prepositional phrase with a pronoun. In addition, *waadži* can be used when the preposition in question is *n* 'of', e.g.

šem waadži bu đ yemma
 you^{SG} / is.not / not / PRED / my.mother
 'you are not my mother'

ma waadži t taddaāt n ša n yižžen?
 Q / is.not / PRED / house / of / some / of / one^{AS}
 'isn't it the house of somebody?'

inin, ibawen waadži bu nnes
 those^M / beans / is.not / not / her
 'those, the beans, they were not hers'

waadži bu amenni
 is.not / not / like.that
 'it is not like that'

When the predicate is a preposition with a pronominal suffix, *waa* stands before the prepositional phrase, e.g.

waa đayes walu
 not / in.it / nothing
 'there was nothing in it'

²⁷ This particle is derived from the negation *waa* and a perfective form of the verb 'to be'. It is also possible to use full verbal forms (i.e. *waa tedžid bu đ yemma*) and forms which lack the subject prefix, but maintain the suffix (i.e. *waa-džid bu đ yemma*).

qa waa yaas bu idaan

QA / not / at.her / not / legs

'she does not have legs (lit. there is not with her legs)'

13.6.3 The postverbal negative element *bu*

Most Tarifiyt sentences have a postverbal negative element in addition to the preverbal negator. There are two types, which always immediately follow the verbal complex. The first type consists of the element *bu*, followed by a direct object or a predicate. In the second type other postverbal negators are used. These may be sentence-final.

When a verb has a lexical direct object, it is possible, but not obligatory, to use the particle *bu* before the direct object; a noun following *bu* takes the Annexed State, e.g.

waa das-teggen bu wexxam

not / him^{IO}-they.do^{NI} / not / house^{AS}

'they will not make a house for him'

waa dasen-isexxa bu rxaqaa

not / them^{MJO}-he.spoiled^{NP} / not / mood

'he did not spoil (*bu*) their mood'

waa tezrid bu baba-tney?

not / you^{SG}.saw^{NP} / not / father-our

'didn't you see (*bu*) our father?'

It is not easy to define the difference between negations with and without *bu*. Phrases with *bu* may be more emphatic than phrases without *bu*. In negations of attributive non-verbal sentences, *bu* is facultatively present before the predicate clause, e.g.

aqzin-enni waadzi bu d aqzin

dog^{TS}.that / is.not / not / PRED / dog^{AS}

'that dog wasn't a (real) dog'

It also sometimes appears before a verbal predicate, e.g.

waa dawem bu tyennzey

not / for.you^{MPLDO} / not / I.sing^{NI}

'I'm not singing to you'

It is obligatory in some constructions, such as the examples below:

waa yaas bu temyaat

not / at.him / not / woman^{AS}

'he doesn't have a wife'

waa dinni bu rfaaq qae

not / there / not / difference / entirely

'there is no difference in that'

It is not possible to combine *bu* with the neutral postverbal negation *ša* or other postverbal negations.

13.6.4 Other postverbal negative elements

The most common post-verbal negator is *ša*, which, like French *pas*, functions with simple negations, e.g.

waa ssiney ša

not / I.know^{NP} / not

'I don't know'

waa t-yufi ša dinni

not / her^{DO}-he.found^{NP} / not / there

'he did not find her there'

waa tgeeced ša x wuatu

not / she.climbed^{NP} / not / on / fig.tree^{AS}

'she did not climb on the fig tree'

nešš waa t-tiwyey ša

I / not / her^{DO}-I.marry^{NI} / not

'I am not going to marry her'

waa tewši ša ayi-nni

not / she.gave^{NP} / not / milk^{FS}-that

'she had not given that milk'

wenni waa yaas ša

that.one^M / not / at.him / not

'that one, he hadn't (anything)'

The element *ša* is absent in a number of situations, the most important of which will be enumerated below (cf. Lafkioui 1996):

1. When another postverbal negative element is present, such as *bu* (see above).
2. When two negative phrases or one positive and one negative phrase occur in a kind of coordination, e.g.

waa ššin waa swin

not / they.ate^{NP} / not / they.drunk^{NP}

'they did not eat or drink'

ššiγ waa žžiwney

I.ate^P / not / I.got.satiated^{NP}

'I ate, but I was not satiated'

3. When the negation is followed by the head of a relative clause, e.g.

waa tufi wi das-d-ižemmeen arruđ

not / she.found^{NP} / who / her^{IO}-hither-gathering^I / clothes^{FS}

'she did not find (somebody) who would (regularly) collect the clothes for her'

In many other contexts, both sentences with and without *ša* are possible. The exact differences in meaning are not clear, e.g.

a welleh huma ššiy-t
 o / by.God / in.order / Late^P-it^{MDO}
 'I shall certainly eat it!'

wellesh ma ššiy-t
 by.God / not / Late^P-it^{MDO}
 'I have absolutely not eaten it'

Ma is also regularly found in combination with *emmaqs* 'never', which, however, can also be combined with *waa*, e.g.

emmaqs ma yus-ed
 never / not / he.came^P-hither
 'he has never come'

emmaqs waa d-yusi
 never / not / hither-he.came^{NP}
 'he has never come'

A special construction involving *ma* is found with the verb *aheř* 'to get tired, to get fed up with, to try without result'. When followed by a second verb, the two verbs are linked by means of *ma*, e.g.

uša yuher ma ađ yeřbaq
 then / he.got.tired^P / not / AD / he.is.patient^A
 'then he got fed up with waiting'

yuher wuřšen ma ađ yefhem
 he.got.tired^P / jackal^{AS} / not / AD / he.understands^A
 'Jackal tried in vain to understand'

14. Sentence structure

14.1 General outline of sentence structure

The minimal structure of a sentence is a verb in the case of a verbal sentence and a non-verbal predicate in the case of a non-verbal sentence.

In non-verbal sentences, the predicate is marked by means of the element *d* when the predicate is a noun or a pronoun. When the predicate is a prepositional phrase or an adverb, there is no predicate marker, e.g.

<i>d uma</i>	'it is my brother'
<i>d nešš</i>	'it is me'
<i>inu</i>	'it is mine (lit. of me)'
<i>n yemma</i>	'it is my mother's (lit. of my mother)'
<i>ammu</i>	'it is like this'

Subjects normally precede the predicate, e.g.

<i>netta d uma</i>	'he is my brother'
<i>nešš ammu</i>	'I am like this'

When the non-verbal sentence is preceded by *qa* 'present relevance' or *tuya* 'past', the subject is often expressed by a direct object suffix following *qa*, resp. *tuya*, e.g.

<i>qa-t di taddaat</i>	'he is home'
QA-him ^{DO} / in / house	
<i>tuya-ayi d amehdaa</i>	'I used to be a student'
PAST-me ^{DO} / PRED / student ^{FS}	

In verbal sentences, there is at least a verb; it is not necessary to have a lexical subject, e.g.

<i>yus-d</i>	'he has arrived'
he.came ^P -hither	

The core of a verbal sentence has the following structure:

(*qa/tuya*) Verb – (Subject) – (Direct Object) – (Prepositional Phrases/Adverbs)

<i>qa yewša baba ttmenyaṭ i Mimun</i>
QA / he.gave ^P / my.father / money / to / Mimoun
'my father has given money to Mimoun'

The place of adverbial phrases is somewhat variable, and they sometimes occur between the verb and the lexical subject or object, e.g.

<i>yeebqa xaney nhar-a yinsi</i>
he.fooled ^P / on.us / day-this / hedgehog ^{AS}
'Hedgehog has fooled us today (<i>nhar-a</i>)'

yiwi-d arrebbi nhar-a tyazitt
 he.brought^P-hither / Lord / day-this / chicken
 'the Lord has brought (us) today a chicken'

Free pronouns only occur in the core when they refer to the subject, or when they are embedded in a prepositional phrase. Subject pronouns in the core are not extremely frequent, probably because the emphasis automatically attached to the use of a free pronoun makes them logical candidates for topicalization or focalization (see below), e.g.

yeqqim netta dinni itenneḍ itenneḍ
 he.stayed^P / he / there / he.turns^I / he.turns^I
 'he (netta) stayed there and turned and turned'

tamyaaṭ-enni nneyni, tešša nettat tayaqziṣṭ-enni
 woman^{TS}-that / other / she.ate^P / she / hare^{TS}-that
 'as for the other woman, she (nettāt) ate the hare'

While possible, the presence of all elements in one single core is not very frequent; normally, there is either pronominalization of at least one of the elements, or topicalization (see below), or both.

14.2 Topicalization

All non-verbal elements in a sentence can be put in sentence-initial position. In such a case, they mark the topic of the sentence, i.e., they tell what the sentence is about. There is pronominal reference to the topic in the core part of the sentence (except for adverbs). The topic stands in the Free State. When the topicalized element functions as the subject of the sentence, there may or may not be an intonational break (comma intonation) between the topic and the core (Lafkioui 2011: 119ff.); when it is another element, comma intonation is obligatory.

nešš(,) wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima
 I / I.gave^P-her^{IO} / address / my / to / Fatima
 'as for me, I gave my address to Fatima'

landris inu, wšiy-as-ti i Faṭima
 address / my / I.gave^P-her^{IO}-it^{MDO} / to / Fatima
 'as for my address, I gave it to Fatima'

Faṭima, wšiy-as landris inu
 Fatima / I.gave^P-her^{IO} / address / my
 'as for Fatima, I gave her my address'

nhar-a, wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima
 day-this / I.gave^P-her^{IO} / address / my / to / Fatima
 'today I gave my address to Fatima'

lkitab-a, dayes landris n Faṭima
 book-this / in.it / address / of / Fatima
 'as for this book, the address of Fatima is in it'

netta, min yexdem wuššen?
 he / what / he.worked^P / jackal^{AS}
 'as for him, what did the jackal do?'

nettaṭ qa-t t taḥenziat
 she / QA-her^{DO} / PRED / girl^{FS}
 'as for her, she is a girl'

Topicalization is obligatory in possessive phrases with *yaa* when the possessor is expressed by a noun, e.g.

tamyaaṭ-enni yaas iżžen mmi-s
 woman^{FS}-that / at.her / one / son-her
 'this woman has a son (lit. this woman, with her is a son of hers)'

It is possible to have several topicalized elements in one sentence, e.g.

nhar-a, nešš wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima
 day-this / I / I.gave^P-her^{IO} / address / my / to / Fatima
 'today, as for me, I gave my address to Fatima'

nešš, yemma waa yari ša
 I / my.mother / not / at.me / not
 'as for me, I don't have a mother'

It is quite common to have topicalization with a full pronoun immediately followed by a lexical topic, e.g.

netta mušš, yeqqim ifetteḥ
 he / cat^{FS} / he.stayed^P / he.swims^I
 'he, the cat, started to swim'

The element *qa* 'present relevance' can occur before the topicalized element; it can also stand immediately before the core of the sentence, e.g.

qa tisinaf waa ḡas-ggint walu
 QA / needles^{FS} / not / him^{IO}-they^F.do^{NP} / nothing
 '(qa) as for the needles, they didn't hurt her at all'

qa nešš waa zemmaay
 QA / I / not / I.can^{NI}
 '(qa) as for me, I can't (or: as for me, I am sick)'

nešš qa a šemm-awyey
 I / QA / AD / you^{FSGDO}-I.bring^A
 'as for me, (qa) I shall marry you'

In non-verbal sentences, *qa* can come both before and after the subject of the non-verbal sentence, e.g.

qa nešš ḡ eenti-twem
 QA / I / PRED / aunt-your^{M-PL}
 'I am your aunt'

nešš qa ḡ eenti-twem
 I / QA / PRED / aunt-your^{M-PL}
 'as for me, I am your aunt'

14.3 Post-topic

In addition to normal topicalization, which concerns the initial position of the sentence, it is possible to have elements put after the core. This will be called a post-topic. The post-topic comes after the core of the sentence. Its exact function is not clear. Post-topics with full pronouns are quite frequent; post-topics with a noun are much less frequent, and seem to be mainly found in non-verbal sentences. Such nouns take the Annexed State,²⁹ e.g.

maŋa waa fŋyent aɗ fŋyey nešš

if / not / they^l.exit^{NP} / AD / I.exit^A / I

'if they don't go out, I will go out, me'

ɗ asemmam, uyi-ya

PRED / sour^{MSGTS} / milk^{AS}-this

'it is sour, this milk (Annexed State of *ayi*)'

qa ɗ ahenžia, win

QA / PRED / boy^{TS} / that.one^M

'it is a boy, that one over there'

reɓɗa ɗayes taɗraymešt, netta

always / in.him / cunningness^{TS} / he

'he is always cunning, he (lit. there is always cunningness in him, he)'

The following common expression always has the post-topic:

ɗ wenni netta

PRED / that.one^M / he

'that's the way it is; o.k.'

It is possible to have a topic and a post-topic in one sentence, e.g.

ɗenni qa iwyex-t, nešš

that.one^F / QA / I.brought^P-her^{DO} / I

'that one, I am married to her, me'

With Imperatives, one can also have a post-topic, e.g.

hwa šekk

go.down!^A / you^{MSG}

'you go down!'

14.4 Focalization: cleft sentences

Focus (new information in the sentence) can be expressed by means of a cleft sentence. Cleft sentences consist of a subjectless non-verbal sentence, followed by a relative clause (see 15.3), which is always linked to it by means of the relative particle *i*. The first part of the cleft can take the form of any non-verbal predicate. It can be *ɗ* + noun/pronoun, but prepositional phrases and adverbs can also be clefted. Different from normal non-verbal predicates, the

²⁹ We do not know of cases where a noun occurs in post-topic position after the core of a verbal sentence, and are therefore not sure about the State of the noun in this position.

predicative particle *d* is not obligatory in the first part of the cleft sentence. Examples:

- (*d*) *šemm i t-yenyin*
 (PRED) / you^{FSG} / that / her^{DO}-killing^P
 'it is you who killed her'
- (*d*) *řqađi i xam ya ihekmen*
 (PRED) / judge / that / on.you^{FSG} / AD / judging^P
 'it is the judge who is going to judge you'
- zzayes i tettaay*
 with.it / that / I.beg^I
 'it is using this (a drum) that I beg'
- ammu i đayi-yegga yinsi*
 like.this / that / me^{IO}-he.did^P / hedgehog^{AS}
 'it is like this that Hedgehog has done to me'

The first part of the cleft can be negated, e.g.

- waadži bu d nešš i ten-d-ižemeen*
 is.not / not / PRED / I / that / them^M-hither-gathering^P
 'it is not me who put them together'
- waadži amenni i đas-tenniđ ?*
 is.not / like.that / that / him^{IO}-you^{SG}.said^P
 'isn't it like that that you told him?'

The cleft sentence can be preceded by a topicalized element, e.g.

- nešš, imendi, nešš i t ya yešsin*
 I / grain / I / that / it^{MDO} / AD / taking^A
 'as for me, the grain, it is me who is going to take it'

The cleft sentence can be preceded by *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past', e.g.

- qa d nešš i yedžan d lmalik*
 QA / PRED / I / that / being^P / PRED / king
 'it is me who is the king'
- tuya d šekk i t-ieedřen ?*
 PAST / PRED / you^{MESG} / that / it^{MDO}-repairing^P .
 'was it you who repaired it?'

15. Relative clauses and related constructions

There are two types of relative clauses, with different syntax: those that have a definite head, and those that have an indefinite head. Definite heads are often – but not always – marked by means of a deictic clitic, mostly *-enni*. Indefinite heads often – but not always – have a marker of indefiniteness, such as *ižžen* ‘a, one’ or *ša* ‘some, a certain’. When definiteness is not explicitly marked in the head, only the type of relative construction permits one to recognize it. The difference between definite and indefinite relative clauses is similar to that between definite and indefinite adjectival constructions (see 11.2).

15.1 Indefinite relatives

Relative clauses with indefinite heads do not have specific marking of the relative clause. They are simply juxtaposed to the head. The verb has normal inflection, and the participial form is not allowed. There is pronominal reference to the head in the relative clause (in the following examples, the relative clause is between square brackets) e.g.

qa yewt-ayi iżžen sseyyed [ušaay-as aysum]
QA / he.hit^P-me^{DO} / one / gentleman / I.stole^P-him^{IO} / meat^{TS}
‘a gentleman from whom I had stolen meat has beaten me’

din iżžen tqedduht [dayes řeħrua]
there / one / tin.box^{AS} / in.it / condiments
‘there was there a tin box that had condiments in it’

iwden yaa iżžen taddaat [texra]
they^M.arrived^P / at / one / house / it^P.is.deserted^P
‘they arrived at a house that was deserted’

15.2 Definite relatives

Relative clauses with definite heads are characterized by the following features:

- the relative clause has no pronominal reference to the head
- in subject relatives the so-called participle is used (see 4.1)
- there is clitic fronting, and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ađ* ‘non-realized’ is used (see 7.1.1)
- in prepositional relatives, the preposition (without pronominal suffix) is put in the position immediately following the relative marker *i*.
- the relative marker *i* is used in all non-subject relatives, except indirect object relatives. It is facultative for subject relatives.
- in indirect object relatives there is a relative marker *umi*.

For relative clauses based on non-verbal sentences, see 13.5.

15.2.1 Subject relatives

Subject relatives are relative clauses where the head functions as the subject of the relative clause. Subject relatives are different from other relative clauses because the verb takes participial inflection.

marra řeybar-a [yeffyen] d a-yeeqeb d aawed

all / dung-this / exiting^P / AD / hither-he.returns^A / here / again

'all this dung which has gone out (been spread over the land) should be taken back'

aayaz-enni [d ya yasen] d Mimun

man^{TS}-that / hither / AD / coming^A / PRED / Mimoun

'the man that is going to come is Mimoun'

wenni [ixeddmen řebda] ad yedweř d tažaa

that.one^M / working^I / always / AD / he.becomes^A / PRED / rich.person

'he who works all the time shall become rich'

wenni [waa ixeddmen řa] ad yeqqim d řmeskin

that.one^M / not / working^M / not / AD / he.stays^A / PRED / poor.person

'he who doesn't work will remain poor'

Subject relatives can be linked to the relative clause by the relative marker *i*, but this is not obligatory, cf.

aayaz [i d a-yewřin ttmenyat] d tažaa

= *aayaz [d a-yewřin ttmenyat] d tažaa*

man^{TS} / (that) / him^{IO}-giving^P / money / PRED / rich.person

'the man who gave him the money is rich'

15.2.2 Direct object relatives

Direct object relatives obligatorily have the relative particle *i*. Apart from this, the main difference with non-relatives are clitic fronting and the use of *ya* as the allomorph of *ad*, e.g.

xedžsey s ttmenyat [i d a-yewřa řařa]

I.payed^P / with / money / that / me^{IO}-he.gave^P / my.father

'I payed with the money that my father had given me'

15.2.3 Indirect object relatives

Indirect object relatives use the linker *umi*, e.g.

tenni [umi ya yegg řiggest] yessexřar-it

the.one^I / to.whom / AD / he.does^A / tattoo / he.spoils^I-her^{DO}

'each one to whom he made a tattoo, he spoiled her'

aayaz [umi t-wřřy] d ameddukeř inu

man^{TS} / to.whom / it^{DO}-I.gave^P / PRED / friend^{AS} / my

'the man to whom I gave it is my friend'

15.2.4 Prepositional relatives

Relative clauses in which the head functions as part of a prepositional phrase always have the relative marker *i*. The preposition has no pronominal suffix and follows *i* immediately. The preposition takes the isolated form (see 9.1), e.g.

missa [i x ssaasey rkas-nni] t tameqqrant
 table / that / on / I.put^P / glass-that / pred / big^{F:SG:3S}
 'the table on which I put this glass is big'

In prepositional relatives of a non-verbal clause, an invariable particle *dža* is used (see 13.5), e.g.

tahenzia [i yaa dža umedduker]
 girl^{FS} / that / at / be / friend^{AS}
 'a girl that has a boyfriend'

15.3 Cleft constructions

Cleft constructions (see 14.4) consist of the predicate of a non-verbal sentence, modified by a relative clause. The use of the relative marker *i* is obligatory in all clefts, including subject clefts, e.g.

(d) *netta i d-yusin nhar-a*
 (PRED) / he / that / hither-coming^P / day-this
 'it is he who has come today' (subject cleft)

(d) *Mimun i zriy*
 PRED / Mimoun / that / I.saw^P
 'it is Mimoun that I saw' (Direct Object cleft)

15.4 Question word questions

Question word questions are similar to clefts in that the question word functions as a head to which a relative clause is attached. There are two major differences between question word questions and (other) clefts. In the first place, question words are never preceded by *d*, in the second place, the relative marker *i* is not used,³⁰ e.g.

wi dawem-t-yennan?
 who / you^{M:PL}-it^{F:DO}-saying^P
 'who told it to you?' (subject interrogative)

min d-yesya zi ssuq?
 what / hither-he.bought^P / from / market
 'what did he buy from the market?' (Direct Object interrogative)

meřmi d ya tawdent?
 when / hither / AD / you^{F:PL}.arrive^A
 'when are you going to arrive here?'

For further details, see 12.2.

³⁰ Many question words end in *i*, e.g. *mani* 'where', *meřmi* 'when'. It is not possible to analyze this *i* as the relative particle, as the question word still has *i* when it appears alone, e.g. *meřmi?* 'when?'.

16. Operator verbs and complementizers

Operator verbs are verbs that function like English auxiliaries such as 'can', 'start' or 'begin'. Different from English and many other European languages, the second verb in such a construction is always finite. It is impossible – or at least highly unnatural – to use a nominal form in such constructions. Thus, where English would have infinitives or gerunds, Tarifiyt has full verbal forms, e.g.

yebda yetxemm 'he started to ponder (lit. he started he is pondering)
he.started^P / he.ponders^I

xsey ad meršey 'I want to marry (lit. I want I shall marry)
I.want^P / AD / I.marry^A

Many operator verbs determine the choice of the aspect of the second verb. This is according to the aspectual properties set out by the operator verb. Thus verbs such as *xes* 'to want' or *zemmaa* 'to be able to' set out an action that is not (yet) realized. Therefore, they are always followed by a verb constructed with the particle *ad*. On the other hand, verbs like *bda* 'to begin' or *qqim* '(begin and) go on' set out an action that will probably take some time and are therefore constructed with an Imperfective.

There are a few verbs that do not determine the aspect of the second verb. Most prominent is the verb 'to find (that)', e.g.

yuf-it yetxemm 'he found him pondering (Imperfective)
he.found^P-him^{DO} / he.ponders^I

yuf-it yeffey 'he found that he had gone out (Perfective)
he.found^P-him^{DO} / he.exited^P

'Be' and 'become'-verbs are followed by a full stative predicate, mostly (but not necessarily) a non-verbal clause (see also 13.5). Examples:

qa yedweř d adbiř
QA / he.became^P / PRED / doctor^{TS}
'he has become a doctor' (non-verbal complement)

yedweř qae yeggenfa
he.became^P / entirely / he.healed^P
'he became fully healed' (verbal complement)

In addition to operator constructions, there also exist complementizer constructions (as with English 'that'). The complementizer is *illa* or *belli*.

yessen illa ad ariř
he.knows^P / that / AD / I.write^A
'he knows that I will write'

qa tessned illa d mmi-m

QA / you^{SG}.know^P / that / PRED / son-your^F

'you know that it is your son'

qa tessned illa uma-š yeddaa

QA / you^{SG}.know^P / that / brother-your^M / he.lives^P

'you know that your brother is alive (lit. lives)'

lmuhimm teeqr-ıt illa d mmi-s

well / she.recognized^P-him^{DO} / that / PRED / son-her

'well, she recognized (him) that he was her son'

tufa illa walu

she.found^P / that / nothing

'she found that there was nothing'

With *ssen* 'to know', one remarks the difference between the complement construction and the operator construction, as in:

yessen ađ yessiweř

he.knows^P / AD / he.speaks^A

'he knows (how) to speak'

When the verb is negated, the question particle *ma* is used instead of *illa*:

waa ssiney ma yus-d

not / I.know^{NP} / Q / he.came^P-hither

'I don't know whether he came'

With the lexicalized clipped version *waa-ssi*, it is possible to do without a complementizer, e.g.

waa-ssi a d-yas niy lla

don't.know / AD / hither-he.comes^A / or / no

'I don't know whether he will come or not'

17. Coordination and subordination

17.1 Coordination

The two main coordinators are *d* 'NP coordinator' and *niy* 'or'. The coordinator *d* 'and' is a preposition that is only allowed to coordinate nouns and (free) pronouns. The coordinative preposition *d* is different from the comitative preposition, which is *ak(ed)* 'with' (see 9.1.6). The noun following *d* is in the Annexed State, e.g.

netta d umeddukeř nnes
he / and / friend^{AS} / his
'he and his friend'

In series of coordinated Noun Phrases, the preposition *d* is normally repeated, e.g.

imendi d farina d yaaden
barley / and / soft.wheat / and / wheat^{AS}
'barley, soft wheat and wheat'

Sentences are normally not coordinated. It is marginally possible to use the comitative preposition *ak* for sentence coordination, e.g.

yewta gg^w keřřuđ-enni ammu,
he.hit^P / in / wood^{AS}-that / like.this
ak umi ya yewwet gg^w keřřuđ-enni...
with / when / AD / he.hits^A / in / wood^{AS}.that
'he hit on the piece of wood like this, and when he had hit on the piece of wood...'

Instead of *ak* it is also possible – at least with younger speakers – to use the Arabic loan *mea* in this context.

The coordinator *niy* 'or' is used in all kinds of coordination, e.g.

min ya teřřeđ, ma ayrum imendi niy wenni n farina?
what / AD / you^{SG}.eat^A / Q / bread^M / [of] barley / or / that.one^M / of / soft.wheat
'what are you going to eat, bread made of barley, or that made of soft wheat?' (noun coordination)

manis ya tađfed, ma zi řmeřra niy zi řewwaqt?
whence / AD / you^{SG}.enter^A / Q / from / ditch / or / from / door^{AS}
'whence will you go out, through the ditch or through the door?'
(coordination of prepositional phrases)

ma d azegg^way niy d ařemřař?
Q / PRED / red^{M:SGFS} / or / PRED / white^{M:SGFS}
'is it red or is it white?' (coordination of two non-verbal predicates)

qebbā xasent niy aḍ uyuaḍ nešš

handle!^A / on.them^T / or / AD / I.walk^A / I

'dispose of them or I shall go myself!' (coordination of two verbal sentences)

Niy also occurs in tag questions:

ma yettef mliḥ niy lla?

Q / he.held^P / well / or / no

'does it hold well or not?'

baḥa-twem ma yaas aššawen, niy?

father-your^{M:PL} / Q / at.him / horns^{FS} / or

'your father, does he have horns, or (not)?'

In addition to *q* and *niy*, there are a number of coordinators which only coordinate sentences:

maša, walakin, walayenni 'but', *seeea* 'but in reality', e.g.

qa yari mmi q waabiḥ inu

QA / at.me / my.son / and / stepson^{AS} / my

maša waa ssiney mmi zegg^w aabiḥ inu

but / not / I.know^{NP} / my.son / from / stepson^{AS} / my

'I have a son and a stepson, but I can't see the difference between my son and my stepson (lit. but I don't know my son from my stepson)'

neššin netyiṛ a t-id-yawi yemmuṭ,

we / we.think / AD / him^{DO}-hither-he.brings^A / he.died^P

seeea yiwi-t-id yeddaa

in.reality / he.brought^P-him^{DO}-hither / he.lives^P

'we thought he would bring him dead, but he brought him alive!'

ša ... ša 'neither ... nor'. This is only used in combination with a negation, e.g.

waa yaawem ša yemma-twem ša eenti-twem

not / at.you^{M:PL} / nor / mother-your^{M:PL} / nor / aunt-your^{M:PL}

'you have neither a mother nor a paternal aunt'

17.2 Subordination

There are a number of frequent subordinators. Some of these cause clitic fronting (see 7.3) and (if syntactically possible) the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *aḍ*. Others do not have this effect.

17.2.1 Hypothetical and Counterfactual

maša ~ madža 'if' (hypothetical)

The subordinator *maša* indicates hypothesis; the outcome may be realized or not. In the subordinated part (the protasis), *maša* is always followed by a Perfective verb or by a non-verbal predicate. *Maša* does not cause clitic fronting, e.g.

maṛa tēxseḍ a ḍam-t-newš

if / you^{SG}.want^P / AD / you^{MSGDO}.him^M-we.give^A
 'if you want, we will give him to you'

maṛa waa ffiyent aḍ ffiyey nešš

if / not / they^I.exited^{NP} / AD / I.exit^A / I
 'if they don't go out, I shall go out myself'

maṛa t taḥenziat, žž-it

if / PRED / girl^{FS} / let^A.her^{DO}
 'if it is a girl, leave her in peace'

mři, meelik 'if (counterfactual)'

The subordinators *mři* and *meelik* indicate a hypothesis which is known to be untrue. They are followed by a verbal clause with a Perfective verb or by a non-verbal predicate. The main clause is often preceded by the particle *iři* or, more emphatically, *tiři*; it is normally in the Perfective too. The counterfactual subordinators cause clitic fronting, e.g.

mři d-usiy iři ššiy

if / hither-I.came^P / then / I.eat^P
 'if I had come, I would have eaten'

Counterfactuals with a non-verbal predicate always use the particle *tuya* 'past', e.g.

meelik š-tuya ḍ uma iři aq-q-eš akidik

if / you^{MSGDO}-PAST / PRED / my.brother / then / here.is-you^{MSGDO} / with.me
 'if you had been my brother, you would have been with me'

waxxa 'even if'

This conjunction causes clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *aḍ*. It does not set out a specific aspect, e.g.

waxxa ḍayi-t ya tēwšed t tamedžač, a t-qebrey

even.if / me^{IO}.her^{DO} / AD / you^{SG}.give^A / PRED / egg^{FS} / AD / her^{DO}-I.accept^A
 'even if you give her in the form of an egg, I will accept her'

waxxa ḍ Nunža nney a t-awyey

even.if / PRED / Nunja / our / AD / her^{DO}-I.take^A
 'even if it is our Nunja, I shall marry her'

waxxa temmut waa nzemmaa a t-nešš

even.if / she.died^P / not / we.can^{NI} / AD / her^{DO}-we.eat^A
 'even if she were dead, we could not eat her'

Waxxa also appears as an interjection meaning 'o.k.'.

17.2.2 Temporal subordination

umi, řami 'when (past)'

These temporal subordinators are used when the subordinated clause refers to something anterior to the main clause. They are either followed by *aḍ* + Aorist or by a Perfective. They cause clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *aḍ*, e.g.

niṭni umi ya awyen iḥawen-ni waa ten-arrin ša
 they^M / when / AD / they^M.bring^A / beans-that / not / them^{MDO}-they^M.plant^{NP} / not
 'they, when they had taken these beans with them, they did not plant them'

umi t-yenya, tḥedd
 when / him^{DO}-he.killed^P / she.stood.up^P
 'when he had killed him, she stood up'

xmi, xemmi, xemminni, xmini 'when (non-past)'

These temporal subordinators are used when the subordinated clause is temporally simultaneous or posterior to the main clause. Simultaneity is expressed by an Imperfective, posteriority by *ad* + Aorist. The subordinators cause clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad*, e.g.

xemmi traḡḡ^W ahen yaa taddaat teqqaq-asen aṭṭas
 when / they^M.go.home^I / to / house / she.says^I-them^{MDO} / much^{FS}
 'when (or: while) they go home, she always tells them a lot'

xmi d ya tṛeḥḡgent yaa taddaat, deḥsent marra
 when / hither / AD / you^{3PL}.arrive^A / to / house / laugh!^{A3PL} / all
 'when (or: while) you will arrive at the house, all of you should laugh!'

amen, 'while, like'

Simultaneous events can be expressed by means of the conjunction *amen* 'while'. This conjunction causes clitic fronting, e.g.

eefsey x uma amen yetteṣ
 I.steps^P / on / my.brother / while / he.sleeps^P
 'I stepped on my brother while he was sleeping'

yeggua amen itett
 he.walks^I / while / he.eats^I
 'he walked and ate at the same time'

neḡwey x yiḡḡen weyyuṛ amen xafes iqubaš degg yaaynen
 I.jumped^P / on / one^{MEAS} / donkey^{AS} / while / on.him / water.jars / in / saddle.bags
 'I jumped on a donkey while there were water jars on him in his saddle bags'

When the subject is the same in the first part of the sentence and in the second, it is more natural to leave out *amen*, e.g.

yeggua itett
 he.walks^I / he.eats^I
 'he walked and ate (at the same time)'

Amen has a second meaning 'like', e.g.

uša ruḡey ad tṭsey žar yayetma, amen teggey řebda
 then / I.went^P / AD / I.sleep^A / between / my.brothers^{AS} / like / I.do^I / always
 'then I went to sleep between my brothers like I always did'

aṛ 'until'

This subordinator is followed by *ad* + Aorist and refers to a coming event. It has clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle, e.g.

žž ař ya kksey řešžur-a

let!^A / until / AD / I.take.away^A / trees-this

'leave (it) until I will take these trees'

ařami 'until'

This subordinator is followed by a verb in the Perfective and refers to a past event. It causes clitic fronting, e.g.

yeqqim ifetteh ařami yezra ižžen wesřem

he.stayed^P / he.swims^I / until / he.saw^P / one / fish^{AS}

'he kept on swimming, until he saw a fish' (the subject is a cat, looking for fish)

řama 'until'

This subordinator is followed by the Perfective. It does not cause clitic fronting, e.g.

nešš waa tetřsey řama yaasa wezru-yin

I / not / I.sleep^N / until / he.is.put.down^P / stone^{AS}-that

'I shall not sleep until that stone over there has been put down'

qbeř 'before'

This subordinator occurs in two constructions. In the first construction, it is immediately followed by the subordinated clause, and the allomorph *ya* of the particle *ař* is used. In the second construction, *qbeř* is linked to the rest of the subordinated clause by an element *ma*. In this case the element *ya* does not appear. In both constructions, the subordinated clause has *ař* + Aorist, e.g.

qbeř ya xeřqey usin-d hwalidin inu yaa Hulanda

before / AD / I.am.born^A / they.came^P-hither / parents / my / to / Netherlands

'before I was born, my parents came to the Netherlands'

qbeř ma a d-asen tuya ixedžes

before / that / AD / hither-they^M.come^A / PAST / he.payed^P

'before they came, he had already payed'

zegga, zegg^wami, 'since'

These subordinators cause clitic fronting, e.g.

zegga d-yusa, ihřes

since / hither-he.came^P / he.is.sick^P

'since he has come he is ill'

zegg^wami swiy pařřiyya-nni ggenfiy

since / I.drunk^P / pill-that / I.healed^P

'since I took this pill I have recovered'

The English conjunction 'after' is translated into Tarifiyt by a compound expression

awaani umi, lit. 'after when', e.g.

awaani umi ixřeq qahřen yaa Nnađuq

after / when / he.was.born^P / they^M.moved.homes^P / at / Nador

'after he was born, they moved to Nador'

17.2.3 Other subordinations and coordinations

Causal subordination (or coordination – the difference is difficult to establish) is normally not expressed in Tarifit, the causal relationship being inferred from the context. Explicit causal subordinators can be used, however. Most common among these are *min-zi*, *elaxaṭṭa*, the Spanish loan *puṛki* and the Standard Arabic loan *li'anna*. The causal conjunctions do not cause clitic fronting or the use of *ya* instead of *aḍ*, e.g.

uma ifaḡḡ puṛki yezṛ-it
 my.brother / he.was.happy^P / because / he.saw^P-her^{DO}
 'my brother is happy, because he has seen her'

Finality is expressed by the conjunctions *ḡama*, *ḡuma*, *ḡima*, *ḡenda* and *ḡaš* 'in order to, so that'. They are followed by *aḍ* + Aorist or, when negated, by *waa* + Imperfective. They do not cause clitic fronting or the allomorph *ya* of the particle *aḍ*, e.g.

teḡḡen ifaxṭa ḡuma aḍ sseḡwen lmakla
 they^M.do^I / charcoal / in.order / AD / they^M.cook^A / food
 'they put on charcoal in order to cook the food'

tennuffaa ḡuma waa t-id-yetwiṛi
 she.hid^P / in.order / not / her^{DO}-hither-he.sees^{NI}
 'she hid so that he would not see her'

18. Texts

In the following a couple of glossed and translated texts are presented, belonging to different genres. The first text is a short excerpt from a written autobiographical sketch by a Dutch Moroccan writer, in which he describes his childhood. The second text is a story from the Rif-Berber oral tradition, transcribed from a recording with a young woman. The third text has a more modern flavor. It is an excerpt of an Islamic sermon held in Tarifiyt and diffused through the means of the internet. While its contents reflect (modern varieties of) orthodox Islamic viewpoints, its form is highly innovative: the use of Tarifiyt instead of Arabic, and the use of the internet for the propagation of the message are very different from the traditional situation. After this, a couple of traditional *izʿan* are given, two-line songs sung at marriages and other occasions. Finally, a number of dialogues are given, including some typical greeting sequences.

18.1 How fairy tales were told

This text is an excerpt from the autobiographical work which sketches a childhood in the Rif, written by ʿAli Amaziɣ: *Tudunin war itizɣen* (Zutphen: Wöhrmann print service, 2012, p. 3). The transcription has been adapted to the conventions used here.

Am neššin am waṭṭas n yewdan mammeš i eqqey
like / I / like / many^{AS} / of / people^{AS} / how / that / I.remember^P
I, like many people, the way I remember,

tuya xminni i ya raḥey aḍ tṭsey degg^w xxam
PAST / when / that / AD / I.go^A / AD / I.sleep^A / in / room^{AS}
when I would go sleeping in the room

žaa yayeṭma d yemma,
between / my.brothers^{AS} / and / my.mother
between my brothers and my mother,

yemma tuya yaa a tessexsi taṭtič n řqendiř
my.mother / PAST / just / AD / she.puts.out^A / wick / of / oil.lamp
my mother would just put out the wick of the oil lamp

niy a tṣuḍ x teṭtič n tṣumet a t-tessexsi,
or / AD / she.blows / on / wick^{AS} / of / candle / AD / it^{P-DO}-she.puts.out^A
or blow on the wick of the candle in order to put it out,

uša a tessenta a daney-d-tini ižžen ṭhažit zi ṭinni yessaggwaden aṭṭas
then / AD / she.begins^A / AD / us^{IO}-hither-she.says^A / one / story / from / those^F / scaring^I / lot^{FS}
and then she would begin to tell us one of the very scary stories,

hima a nesqaa, niy hima a daney-yawi yideş deyya.

so.that / AD / we.are.silent^A / or / so.that / AD / us^{DO}-it^M.brings^A / sleep^{AS} / immediately
so that we would keep quiet, or so that we would fall asleep immediately (lit.
so that sleep would carry us away immediately).

Mammeş tuya kidney ttnus henna şa n twardaŋin

how / PAST / with.us / she.spends.the.night^I / my.grandmother / some / of / times^{AS}
Like when my grandmother would sleep at our place some times,

uŋa d nettat tuya teqqar-aney-d tihuza zi tinni yessaggwaden aŋtas.

as.well / PRED / she / PAST / she.says^I-us^{IO}-hither / stories^{TS} / from / those^F / scaring^I / lot^{TS}
she would also tell us very scary stories.

Ameşnaw tħaŋit n wemziw niy ameşnaw tħaŋit-enni n tenni yeşşin mmi-s

like / story / of / ogre^{AS} / or / like / story-that / of / the.one^F / eating^P / son-her
Like the story of the ogre, or like the story of the woman that ate her son,

niy n tenni i tuya yetrahen s džiŋet yaa imeđran

or / of / the.one^F / that / PAST / going^I / with / night / to / graves.
or of the woman that used to go to the cemetery at night

tŋetter dinni seysu s ufus umettin.

she.rolls.(couscous)^I / there / couscous / with / hand^{AS} / [of] dead.person^{AS}
and roll couscous there with the hand of a dead person.

Henna tuya tessan iŋŋen waŋtas n tihuza

my.grandmother / PAST / she.knows^F / one / lot^{AS} / of / stories^{AS}
My grandmother knew a lot of stories

uŋa tuya xmini i daney-d-teqqar şa n tħaŋit

then / PAST / when / that / us^{IO}-hither-she.says^I / some / of / story
then, when she would tell us a story

a teqqaa a teqqaa a daney-d-teawed tħaŋit-enni

AD / she.says^I / AD / she.says^I / AD / us^{IO}-hither-she.tells^A / story-that
she would tell and tell and tell us the story,

aŋ daney-tesra marra neşşuxruŋ,

until / us^{IO}-she.heard^I / all / we.snore^I
until she heard us all snoring.

xenni i ya tessan henna belli yiwy-aney yideş

then / that / AD / she.knows^A / my.grandmother / that / it.brought^P-us^{DO} / sleep^{AS}
when my grandmother would know that we had fallen asleep

uŋa a tesqaa hima uŋa d nettat a tettes.

then / AD / she.is.silent^A / so.that / as.well / PRED / she / AD / she.sleeps^A
she would stop speaking so that she could sleep too.

Maşa şa n twardaŋin tesŋiy-as i henna tŋaya-ayi-d

but / some / of / times^{AS} / I.heard^I-her^{IO} / to / my.grandmother / she.calls^I-me^{IO}-hither
But sometimes I heard my grandmother call me:

'A Eŋi inu, a Eŋi inu, ma tettesed niy ead waa tettesed?'

O / Ali / my / o / Ali / my / q / you^{SC}.sleep^P / or / yet / not / you^{SC}.sleep^{NP}
'Ali, my Ali, are you asleep, or are you not yet asleep?'

A *das-iniy nešš*: 'A *henna, nešš ead waa ttişey ša*.'

AD / her¹⁰-I.say^A / I / o / my.grandmother / I / yet / not / I.sleep^{NP} / not
I would answer: 'Grandmother, I'm not yet asleep.'

Uša a tsiyi *henna a dayi-d-teqqaq tħažit-enni*.

then / AD / she.continues^A / my.grandmother / AD / me¹⁰-hither-she.says^I / story-that
Then my grandmother would continue telling me the story.

Uša *tuya henna kuř tħařa a tesqaa*,

then / PAST / my.grandmother / every / time / AD / she.is.silent^A
Then my grandmother would time and again stop speaking,

uša a *dayi-d-třaya*

then / AD / me¹⁰-hither-she.calls^A
and call me:

'A *Ēři inu, a Ēři inu, ma tettişed niy ead? Waa tettişed ša?*'

o / Ali / my / o / Ali / my / q / you^{SG}.sleep^P / or / yet / not / you^{SG}.sleep^{NP} / not
'Ali, my Ali, are you asleep or not yet? Aren't you sleep?'

Kuř *tħařa a dayi-d-třaya*,

every / time / AD / me¹⁰-hither-she.calls^A
She would ask me time and again,

tħezzar-ayi ma yiwy-ayi yiđeş niy ead.

she.looks^I-me¹⁰ / q / it^M.brought^I-me¹⁰ / sleep^{AS} / or / yet
looking whether I had fallen asleep or not yet.

18.2 The story of Gold-Pearl and his mother

This is a traditional story as told by a young woman.

*Ruħ xas, a xas nraħ waa ntegg^{wed}! Ĥažit-ek!*³¹

go!^A / on.him / AD / on.him / we.go^A / not / we.fear^{NI} / Ĥažit-ek
'We will go through it without fear.'

*Yekkaa*³² *iżż użedżiđ yaas iżžen yiyyaa n yaađen yemyqaa*.

he.rose^P / one / king^{AS} / at.him / one / field^{AS} / of / wheat^{AS} / he.is.big^P
Once upon a time there was a king who had a big field of wheat.

Uša *yus-d zeema yemsennađ. Uša kkint ssin tmeħtaş*,

then / he.came^P-hither / you.know / it.leaned^P / then / they^F.passed^P / by.there / mowers^{AS}
Then it was hanging over. Then some women who mow the grass passed.

tuya waa-ssi seħea uřa třařa,

PAST / don't.know / seven / or / three.

They were, I don't know, seven or three,

nešš muħimm ssney třařa, ađ iniy třařa.

I / in.fact / I.know^P / three / AD / I.say^A / three.
(Well, I know three, so I'll say three.)

³¹ The first line is a conventional opening formula of a story. The word *ħažit-ek* is Arabic opening and literally means 'I told you'.

³² The verb *kkaa* 'to rise' is often used to initiate a new series of actions.

Tenn-as tmezwarut:

she.said^P-her^{JO} / first^{FAS}

The first one said:

- *Mfi dayi ya yawi³³ bab n yiyyar-a,*

if³⁴ / me^{DO} / AD / he.bring^A / possessor / of / field^{AS}-this.

- If the master of this field would marry me,

a das-ggey³⁵ azedžab s yižž uyeydu.

AD / him^{JO}-I.make^A / gown^{TS} / with / one^{AS} / rolag^{AS}

I would make him a gown with a single rolag.³⁶

Teawd-as tenneyeni, tenn-as:

she.told^P-her^{JO} / the.other^F / she.said^P-her^{JO}

The other said:

- *Maša yiwy-ayi bab n yiyyar-a,*

if / he.bring^P-me^{JO} / possessor / of / field^{AS}-this

- If the master of this field marries me,

a das-ggey seksu s yižžen tidaatt.

AD / him^{JO}-I.make^A / couscous / with / one^{AS} / ear.of.grain

I will make him couscous out of a single ear of grain.

Tenni taneggarut tenn-as:

the.one^F / last^{FPS} / she.said^P-her^{JO}

The last one said:

- *Maša yiwy-ayi bab n yiyyar-a,*

if / he.bring^P-me^{JO} / possessor / of / field^{AS}-this.

- If the master of this field marries me,

a das-d-žžey mmi-s yaas tiyuqit n wuay di tenyiaf.

AD / him^{JO}-hither-I.leave^A / son-his / at.him / pearl^{TS} / of / gold^{AS} / on / forehead^{AS}

I will give him a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.

Netta tuya-t dinni, tuya yeteesses, tuya yennuffaa yeshessa yaasent.

he / PAST-him^{DO} / there / PAST / he.guard^I / PAST / he.hid^P / he.listens^I / at.them^{FPL}

He was there, he was guarding, he had hid and listened to them.

Yekkaa iruh yexdeh tmezwarut,

he.rose^P / he.went^P / he.asked.the.hand^P / first^{FPS}

He asked the hand of the first one,

tenni das-yennan: 'a das-ggey azedžab s yižž uyeydu'.

the.one^F / him^{JO}-saying^P / AD / you^{M-SG-IO}-make^A / gown^{TS} / with / one^{AS} / rolag^{AS}

The one that had said: 'I will make you a gown from a single rolag'

³³ The verb *awi* expresses that something is carried somewhere. With the particle *-d* 'hither', it can be translated as 'to bring'. *Awi* is also used, like in this sentence, for taking somebody as one's wife or husband.

³⁴ *Mfi* is the counterfactual; later on hypothetical *maša* is used.

³⁵ The verb *gg* can be translated in a number of different ways into English: 'do', 'make', 'put', 'be like'.

³⁶ I.e., a bundle of washed and carded wool that has not yet been spun.

lxeḏb-it, yiwy-it, yiwy-az-d t̥rist,
 he.asked^P.the.hand.of-her^{DO} / he.brought^P-her^{DO} / he.brought^P-her^{IO}-hither / fleece
 He asked her hand, he married her, he brought her a fleece,

*t̥rist uḥuṛi amen tekmeṛ.*³⁷
 fleece / [of] ram^{AS} / while / she.is.complete^P
 an entire ram's fleece.

Tedžm-it tqaqadš-it, hay hay, ša iruḥ diha, ša tzeṛy-it,
 she.spun^P-it^{DO} / she.carded^P-it^{DO} / ho / ho / some / it^M.went^P / there / some / she.rolled^P-it^{MDO}
 She spun it, she carded it, ho ho! some of it went here, some of it she let roll away,

waa das-t-ṭeggi ša, waa das-ṭeggi bu uqubbu.
 not / him^{IO}-it^{DO}-she.made^{NP} / not / not / him^{DO}-she.made^{NP} / not / cloak^{AS}
 She did not make it for him, she did not make a cloak for him,

Waa das-ṭeggi řa d řqebb.
 not / him^{IO}-she.made^{NP} / even / PRED / hood
 She did not even make a hood for him.

leawed i tenneyni.
 he.repeated^P / to / the.other^F
 He did the same to the other.

Yiwi tenni das-yennan:
 he.brought^P / the.one^F / him^{IO}-saying^P
 He married the one that had said to him:

'a daš-ggey seksu s yižžen tidaatt'.
 AD / you^{MSGIO}-make^A / couscous / with / one^{AS} / ear.of.grain
 'I will make you couscous from a single ear of grain'

Netta yiwy-as-d řmudd, řmudd n yiaden.
 he / he.brought^P-her^{IO}-hither / mud / mud / of / wheat^{AS}
 He married her and brought her a mud, a mud of wheat.

Tḥaay-iten, tssiff-iten, ša iruḥ t tanexxač,
 she.ground^P-them^{MDO} / she.sieved^P-them^{MDO} / some / it^M.went / PRED / bran^{FS}
 She ground it, she sieved it, some of it became bran,

šway iruḥ d iwzan, šwayt t tiwzaṭin,
 some / it^M.went / PRED / crushed.grains^{FS} / some / PRED / finely.crushed.grains^{FS}
 some of it became crushed grains, some finely crushed grains,

šway d aan t taneyda.
 some / PRED / flour^{FS} / PRED / powder^{FS}
 some flour like powder.

Waa das-ṭeggi řa t tfaṭač.
 not / him^{IO}-she.made^{NP} / even / PRED / couscous.rolling³⁸
 She did not even make for him any couscous rolling.

³⁷ The expression *amen tekmeṛ* 'like she is complete' is used as an equivalent of English 'entire'.

Ṭaneggarut yiwy-it, ṭenni ḍas-yennan:

last¹³⁵ / he.brought^P-her^{DO} / the.one^F / him^{IO}-saying^P

He married the last one, the one that had said to him:

'a ḍaš-d-žžey mmi-š yaas ṭiyuqit n wuqy di ṭenyiaṭ.'

AD / you^{MSGDO}-hither-I.leave^A / son-your^{MSG} / at.him / pearl^{FS} / of / gold^{AS} / on / forehead^{AS}

'I will give you a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.'

Yiwy-it yešbaq, ttak ttak, yaas ḍḍiseṭ, yeteayan.

he.brought^P-her^{DO} / he.took.patience^P / ttak / ttak / at.her / pregnancy / he.waits^I

He married her, he waited patiently, *ttak ttak*, she became pregnant, he waited,

Yeteayan, nhar-a ṭiwešša, nhar-a ṭiwešša,

he.waits^I / day-this / tomorrow^{FS} / day-this / tomorrow^{FS}

he waited, day after day, day after day.

yiweḍ-d xas tsee šhuq, ṭzeyyed, ṭuru-d,

it^{PL}.arrived^P-hither / on.her / nine / months / she.gave.birth^P / she.gave.birth^P-hither

She reached her nine months (lit. nine months reached her), and she gave birth,

ṭuru-d mmi-s yaas ṭiyuqit n wuqy di ṭenyiaṭ.

she.gave.birth^P-hither / son-his / at.him / pearl^{FS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS}

she gave birth to a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.

Ṭekkāa ṭašniwin nnes ṭiant zzayes nnant-as:

she.rose^P / co-wives / her / they^F.were.jealous^P / from.her / they^F.said^P-her^{IO}

The other wives became jealous and said:

- Xyaa ṭaniti ṭežž-d mmi-s yaas ṭiyuqit n wuqy di ṭenyiaṭ,

good / this.one^F / she.left^P-hither / son-her / at.him / pearl^{FS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS}

- Okay, she has given birth to a son with a golden pearl on her forehead,

neššin min nenna waa neggi ša, ṭaniti a tiři ṭefdeṛ xaney?!

we / what / we.said^P / not / we.did^{NP} / not / this.one^F / AD / she.is^A / she.is.better^P / on.us.

we, we did not do what we had promised, and she, she should be better than us?!

Ṭekkāa-d ṭekk-d senni ižžen ṭmeseešt,

she.rose^P-hither / she.passed^P-hither / by.there / one / beggar^{F:AS}

So a beggar woman passed by,

neššin neqqar-as ṭameseešt, ttettaa.

we / we.say^I-her^{IO} / beggar^{FS} / she.begs^I

we call it a beggar women, she begged.

Nettaṭ meskina mix d-ṭežža ahenžia-nni, ṭesxef safi.

she / poor.one^F / when / hither-she.left^P / boy^{FS}-that / she.fainted^P / enough

The poor one had fully fainted when she had given birth to the boy.

Wšint-as ṭehru uša sfesyent-as ddhen,

they^F.gave^P-her^{IO} / she.gulped^P / then / they^F.made.melt^P-her^{IO} / butter

They gave it to her, she drank, they melted butter for her,³⁹

³⁸ We are not certain of the meaning of *ṭfaṭač*. It probably refers to the end result of the action of rolling the couscous.

³⁹ This passage describes traditional actions around childbirth.

*Kkaa*⁴⁰ *ggint-as tīrētētēt-nni deg qemum umi tuyua tmesēst-nni*,
 rise^P / they^F.put^P-her^{IO} / little.finger^{TS}-that / in / mouth^{AS} / when / she.went^P / beggar^{PAS}-that
 So they put the little finger in her mouth when the beggar woman had gone away,

mbeed umi t-twařan ggua a tfaq, sekkaant tyuyyit:

after / when / her^{DO}-they^F.saw^I / almost / AD / she.wakes.up^A / they^F.made.rise^P / crying
 and then, when they saw that she was going to wake up they started to cry:

- *Aaaaa qa ta teřša mmi-s,*

oooh / QA / this.one^F / she.ate^P / son-her

- *Oooohhh, she has eaten her son!*

neřšin neřha kis, neřřuđ-īt ttaqf nnes, nennđ-īt,

we / we.took.care^P / with.him / we.made.sleep^P-him^{DO} / next / her / we.swaddled^P-him^{DO}

We, we were taking care of him, we made him sleep at her side, we swaddled him,

a qa teřša mmi-s!

oh / QA / she.ate^P / son-her

and now she has eaten her son!

Ssekkaant xas tyuyyit.

they^F.made.rise^P / on.her / crying

They started to cry.

Yaaggweh-d waayaz, nnant-as:

he.came.home^P-hither / man^{AS} / they^F.said^P-him^{IO}

The husband came home and they told him:

- *a řidi, a qa řamyaat nneř i řař-d-yeřřin mmi-ř*

o / sir / o / QA / woman^{TS} / your^{MSG} / that / you^{MSGIO}-hither-leaving^P / son-your^{MSG}

- O Sir, your wife that has given you a son

yaas řiyuqit n wuqy ři řenyiat, a qa teřř-īt!

at.him / pearl^{TS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS} / o / QA / she.ate^P-him^{DO}

with a golden pearl on his forehead, she has eaten him!

Yekkaa netta yessekk abarrař yaa uđewwaq-nni.

he.rose^P / he / he.sent^P / messenger^{TS} / to / village^{AS}-that

He sent out a messenger to the village.

Yenna: - a qa mameř řas ya ggey.

he.said^P / o / QA / how / her^{DO} / AD / I.do^A

He said: - This is what I shall do to her.

*Iyaas*⁴¹ *i yiřř ufunas yekks-as iřem-nni*

he.slaughtered^P / to / one^{AS} / ox^{AS} / he.took.off^P-him^{IO} / skin^{TS}-that

He slaughtered an ox, he took off the hide

yegg-īt xas, yesyaqđ-as-t.

he.put^P-it^{MDO} / on.her / he.made.wear^P-her^{IO}-it^{MDO}

and put it on her, he made her wear it.

⁴⁰ In this sentence, the verb *kkaa* 'to rise', in the sense of initiating an action, has lost its verbal inflections.

⁴¹ The verb *yaas* 'to slaughter' is always constructed with an Indirect object.

Uša wenni yaa dža⁴² ša n weyyuř, wenni yaa dža ša ufunas,
 the.one^M / at / be / some / of / donkey^{AS} / the.one^M / at / be / some / [of] ox^{AS}
 After that, anyone who had a donkey, anyone who had an ox,

wenni yaa dža ša n weřyem, aya řuħuš,
 then / the.one^M / at / be / some / of / camel^{AS} / whatever / animals.
 anyone who had a camel, any kind of animal,

yesmuna-yas-t-id s kušši.
 he.makes.go.with¹-her¹⁰-it^{MDO}-hither / with / everything
 he would put them all together for her.

Yesmun-as-t-id, tebda ttras.
 he.makes.go.with¹-her¹⁰-it^{MDO}-hither / she.started^P / she.herds¹
 He put them together for her and she started herding them.

Ruħen wussan usin-d, ruħen wussan usin-d,
 they^M.went^P / days^{AS} / they^M.came^P-hither / they^M.went^P / days^{AS} / they^M.came^P-hither
 The days came, the days went, the days came, the days went,

aħenžia-nni yemyqa, yeqqim⁴³ itiraa.
 boy^{FS}-this / he.grew.up^P / he.sat^P / he.plays¹
 the boy grew up and started to play.

İesseyim-iť tmeseeřt-nni, yemyqa, d aayaz.
 she.raised^P-him^{DO} / beggar^{FS}.that / he.grew.up^P / PRED / man^{FS}
 The beggar woman raised him, he grew up, he became a man.

Yekkaa min yexdem netta
 he.rose^P / what / he.worked^P / he
 So what did he do?

Yaas yis d wuřřen d wuřřa, yaqba-ten
 at.him / horse^{FS} / and / jackal^{AS} / and / greyhound^{AS} / he.raised^P-them^{MDO}
 He had a horse, a jackal and a greyhound, and he raised them (together).

uša yekkaa itiraa tšamma uħenžia-nni.
 then / he.rose^P / he.plays¹ / ball / boy^{AS}-that
 Then the boy started to play ball.

Yekkaa itiraa tšamma yalleh, yalleh, yalleh,
 he.rose^P / he.plays¹ / ball / come.on! / come.on! / come.on!
 He played ball on and on and on,

yewta tšamma ttraaak’.
 he.hit^P / ball / trak
 he hit the ball, ttraaak’.

İžžen twessaat waa-ssi iqeřb-as řbuameť
 one / old.woman^{AS} / don’t.know / he.turned.over^P-her¹⁰ / kettle
 An old woman, I don’t know, he kicked over her kettle;

⁴² On this construction, see section 13.5.

⁴³ The verb *qqim* ‘to sit, to remain’ is used with a following verb in the Imperfective as a durative auxiliary. In such contexts it means that the action goes on for a certain time. Different from similar constructions in European languages, it can be used to imply also the starting point of the enduring action, conveying ‘he started to do something for a certain time’.

tuya tfewwaa seḳsu, uʀa waa ssiney.

PAST / she.steams¹ / couscous / or / not / I.know^{NP}

She was steaming couscous (or I don't know [what she was doing exactly]).

lqeṛb-as-t-id, tseyyh-as-d. Tef̣fey-d:

he.turned.over^P-her¹⁰-it^{PDO}-hither / it^F.spilled^P-her¹⁰-hither / she.came.out^P-hither
He kicked it over and it spilled over, she came out:

- A wi yeggin ammu a dawem-yewš....!!

o / who / doing^P / like.this / AD / you^{MPLDO}-he.gives^A

- The one that did that, may He give you⁴⁴...

Ttedea, ttekḳwua. Nnan-as ihenžian nneyni:

she.complains¹ / she.insults¹ / they^M.said^P-her¹⁰ / boys / other

She complains, she insults. The other boys told her:

- A qa waa dži bu d neššin, a qa d ffran.

o / QA / not / is.not / not / PRED / we / o / QA / PRED / so-and-so

- It wasn't us, it was so-and-so.

Tenn-as: - Mři ya tegged inadan i yemma-š

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / if / AD / you^{SG}.do^A / good.deeds / to / mother-your^{MSG}

She said: - Would that you had done good deeds to your mother!

a qa srasenn-as iřeyman.

o / QA / they^M.make.herd¹-her¹⁰ / camels

they let her herd camels.

A qa tenni yaak a qa tseym-iš waha,

o / QA / the.one^F / at.you^{MSG} / o / QA / she.raised^P-you^{MSGDO} / just.

The one that you have, she just raised you,

a qa waa dži bu d yemma-š.

o / QA / not / is.not / not / PRED / mother-your^{MSG}

she is not your mother.

Yaq̣ag̣g̣weḥ ixeyyeq̣,

he.came.home^P / he.was.bad-tempered^P

He came home with a bad temper,

a qa tenni t-yesseymen yeqqar-as yemma.

o / QA / the.one^F / him^{DO}-raising^P / he.says¹-her¹⁰ / my.mother

you know he called the one that had raised him mother.

Yenn-as: - A yemma a dayi-tegged šwayt uhaq̣abid.

he.said^P-her¹⁰ / o / my.mother / AD / me¹⁰-you^{SG}.make^A / little / [of] semolina.porridge^{AS}

He said: - Mother, you must make some porridge for me.

Yenn-as: - Maša a yemma a dayi-tegged šwayt n ddhen ahuri dayes.

he.said^P-her¹⁰ / but / o / my.mother / AD / me¹⁰-you^{SG}.make^A / little / of / butter / pure^{FS} / in.it

He said: - But, mother, you should put some ghee in it.

Tenn-as: - Wah a mmi.

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / yes / o / my.son

She said: - Okay, my son.

⁴⁴ The intended subject of this elliptic curse is God.

Yenn-as: - *Gg-it s ufus nnem.*

he.said^P-her^{IO} / do!^A-it^M / with / hand^{AS} / your^{FSG}

He said: - Do it with your hand.

Yenn-as:

he.said^P-her^{IO}

He said:

- *Xemmi ya yey^w waa t-id-tfarray aɾ dayi-t-tinid.*

when / AD / it^M.boils^A / not / it^{M:DO}-hither-you^{SG}.pour^I / until / me^{IO}-it^M-you^{SG}.say^A

- When it boils,⁴⁵ don't pour it out before you have told me.

Yekkaa yey^wa, tenn-as: - A mmi, yey^wa.

it^M.rose^P / it^M.boiled^P / she.said^P-him^{IO} / o / my.son / it^M.boils^P

It boiled and she said: - My son, it is ready.

Truh yaas tenn-as - Qa yey^wa.

she.went^P / at.him / she.said^P-him^{IO} / QA / it^M.boils^P

She came to him and said: - It is ready.

Yekkaa, tuya yeqqim.

he.rose^P / PAST / he.sat^P

He rose, he had been sitting.

Truh yaas, ddhen-nni tekks-it-id s ufus nnes.

she.went^P / at.him / butter-that / she.took.out^P-it^M-hither / with / hand^{AS} / her

She went to him, she took the butter out with her hand.

Yenn-as: *Kks-it-id s ufus nnem.*

he.said^P-her^{IO} / take.out!^A-it^M-hither / with / hand^{AS} / your^{FSG}

He said: - Take it out with your hand.

Tekks-it-id s ufus nnes.

she.took.out^P-it^M-hither / with / hand^{AS} / her

She took it out with her hand.

Yenn-as: - *Gg-it s ufus nnem di teyduat-nni.*

he.said^P-her^{IO} / do!^A-it^M / with / hand^{AS} / your^{FSG} / in / pot^{AS}-that

He said: - Put it with your hand into the pot.

Nettat truh a t-tegg, netta yettf-as din fus.

she / she.went^P / AD / it^M-she.does^A / he / he.took^P-her^{IO} / there / hand^{F5}

She was about to do it, but he took her hand there. (*scil.* while in the pot)

Yenn-as: - *A dayi-tinid ma s tidet šem d yemma,*

he.said^P-her^{IO} / AD / me^{IO}-you^{SG}.say^A / Q / with / truth / you^{FSG} / PRED / my.mother

He said: - You must tell me, are you really my mother,

ma yari ša n yemma nnexni?!

Q / at.me / some / of / my.mother / other

or do I have another mother?

⁴⁵ The verb *ey^w* can be translated as 'to boil, to cook, to be ready (food), to be ripe'. Both the translations 'to boil' and 'to be ready' would fit the context here.

Tenn-as: - Wah a mmi aqa-t yaak.

she.said^P-him^{IO} / yes / o / my.son / look-her^{DO} / at.you^{M-5G}

She said: - Yes, my son, you do have (another mother).

Aqa ha mameš, qa nešš kkiy ssenni tuya tmeēšey.

look / here.it.is / how / QA / I / I.passed^P / by.there / PAST / I.beg^I

This is how it is, I passed there, I was begging.

Nnant-ayi: 'A qa tendar-it yemma-s tugi a t-tesyem.'

they^F.said^P-me^{IO} / o / QA / she.threw^P-him^{DO} / mother-his / she.refuses^P / AD / him^{DO}.
she.raises^A

They told me: 'She has thrown him away, his mother refuses to raise him'.

Ysiy-šek, sseymey-šek.

I.carried^P-you^{M-5G-DO} / I.raised^P-you^{M-5G-DO}

I took you with me and I raised you.

Yenn-as: - Mani tedža?

he.said^P-her^{IO} / where / she.is^P

He said: - Where is she?

Tenn-as: - Ddšaq-nni yegg^{wēž}, aṭṭas n lmasafa.

she.said^P-him^{IO} / village-that / it^M.is.far^P / much^{TS} / of / distance

She said: - The village is far away, a big distance.

Uša yegg^{wua}. Yetṭef uššen-nni.

then / he.goes^I / he.took^P / jackal^{TS}.that

Then he went. He took the jackal.

Yenn-as: - A yaas raḥey, a xas aazuy.

he.said^P-her^{IO} / AD / to.her / I.go^A / AD / on.her / I.search^A

He said: - I shall go to her, I shall search her.

Uša yetṭef uššen iqaṇ-it yaa wušša.

then / he.took^P / jackal^{TS} / he.attached^P-him^{DO} / at / greyhound^{AS}

Then he took the jackal, and attached it to the greyhound.

Uša yenya x uyis nnes.

then / he.mounted^P / on / horse^{AS} / his

Then he mounted his horse.

Yegg^{wua} yegg^{wua} yegg^{wua}, uša zarren-t yewḡan.

he.goes^I / he.goes^I / he.goes^I / then / they^M.see^I-him^{DO} / people^{AS}

He went, he went, he went, and the people saw him time and again,

Uša a as-inin:

then / AD / him^{IO}-they^M.say^A

and would say:

- Subḥanllah⁴⁶ uššen imun akeḡ wušša!

amazing! / jackal^{TS} / he.is.together^P / with / greyhound^{AS}.

- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Lit. 'praise of God', an interjection used to convey surprise.

⁴⁷ Jackals and greyhounds are supposed to be each other's deadly enemy.

Uša a as-yini netta:

then / AD / him¹⁰-he.says^A / he

And he would say:

- Subḥanllāh tenni yeššin mmi-s man tammuṭ dī tedža?

amazing! / the.one^F / eating^P / son-her / which / land^{F5} / in / she.is^P

- Amazing! The one who ate her son, in which land is she?

A as-inin: - Ruḥ a qa ntesša xas! Maša ruḥ yaa zza!

AD / him¹⁰-they^M.say^A / go!^A / o / QA / we.hear^I / on.her / but / go!^A / to / forward

and they would say: - Go, we heard about her. But go further.

Yeqqim yegg^{wua} yegg^{wua} yegg^{wua} uhenzia-nni.

he.sat^P / he.goes^I / he.goes^I / he.goes^I / boy^{AS}-that

The boy kept on going and going and going.

Wenni i kides ya yemseřqan a das-yini:

the.one^M / that / with.him / AD / meeting^A / AD / him¹⁰-he.says^A

Everyone that met him said:

- Subḥanllāh uššen imun aked wušša!

amazing! / jackal^{F5} / he.is.together^P / with / greyhound^{AS}

- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.

A das-yarr⁴⁸ netta:

AD / him¹⁰-he.gives.back^A / he

and he would answer:

- Subḥanllāh tenni yeššin mmis man tammuṭ dī tedža?

amazing! / the.one^F / eating^P / son-her / which / country^{F5} / in / she.is^P

- Amazing! The one who ate her son, in which country is she?

Uša umi ya yuyua, ařmi yufa tenni mani taawes.

then / when / AD / he.goes^A / until / he.found^P / the.one^F / where / she.herded^P

So he went until he found her, where she herded.

Uša nettat s uqemmum nnes tenn-as,

then / she / with / mouth^{AS} / her / she.said^P-him¹⁰

And she, with her proper mouth, said to him,

nettāt tenni umi srasen iřeyman, yemma-s-nni, tenn-as:

she / the.one^F / to.whom / they^M.make.herd^I / camels / mother-his-that / she.said^P-

him¹⁰she, the one that they made herd camels, this mother of his, she said:

- Subḥanllāh uššen imun aked wušša!

amazing! / jackal^{F5} / he.is.together^P / with / greyhound^{AS}

- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.

Yenn-as netta: - Subḥanllāh a řalla,

he.said^P-her¹⁰ / he / amazing! / o / mylady

and he said: - Amazing, mylady!

tenni yeššin mmi-s man tammuṭ dī tedža?

the.one^F / eating^P / son-her / which / country^{F5} / in / she.is^P

The one who ate her son, in which country is she?

⁴⁸ The verb *arr* 'to give back' is regularly used in the sense of 'to answer'.

Tenn-as: - *D nešš a mmil*

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / PRED / I / o / my.son

She said: - It's me, my son!⁴⁹

Tenn-as: - *Ššiyy mmi am waa t-ššiyy.*

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / Late^P / my.son / like / not / him^{DO}-Late^{NP}

She said: - I have eaten my son like I did not eat him.

Tenn-as: - *Yaa aqbbi waa ššiyy bu mmi, yaa řeebđ⁵⁰ ššiix-t.*

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / at / Lord / not / Late^{NP} / not / my.son / at / servant / Late^P-him^{DO}

She said: - As God concerns, I did not eat my son, as men concerns, I ate him.

Uša yebđa, iēawđ-as. Tēawđ-as řqišša.

then / he.started^P / he.told^P-her¹⁰ / she.told^P-him¹⁰ / story

So he started and told her. She told him the story.

Yeqqim kiđes iēawđ-as marra min đas-iweqeen,

he.sat^P / with.her / he.told^P-her¹⁰ / all / what / him¹⁰-happening^P

He sat down with her and told her everything that had happened to him,

min đas-ggin, mant ssibba, mameš đas-temsaa.

what / him¹⁰-they^M.did^P / what / reason / how / him¹⁰-it^F.happened^P

what they had done to him, what was the reason, what had happened to him.

Kuřši iēawđ-as-t. Yekkaa yenn-as:

everything / he.told^P-her¹⁰-it^{MDO} / he.rose^P / he.said^P-her¹⁰

He told her everything. Then he said:

- *Ma a kiđem rahey yaa waayaz-nmi nmem a đayi-yessens?*

Q / AD / with.you^{ESG} / I.go^A / to / man^{AS}-that / your^{ESG} / AD / me^{DO}-he.makes.pass.the.night^A

- Can I go with you to that husband of yours, would he invite me for the night?

Tenn-as nettat: - *Wah a mmi, mařa tēxsed a trahed, a trahed.*

she.said^P-him¹⁰ / she / yes / o / my.son / if / you^{SG}.want^P / AD / you^{SG}.go^A / AD / you^{SG}.go^A

She said: - Okay, my son, if you want to go, you should go.

Yenn-as: - *A đas-ttaay ttif-llah⁵¹.*

he.said^P-her¹⁰ / AD / him¹⁰-beg^A / hospitality

He said: - I will ask hospitality from him.

Amezwaru teggwed. Yenn-as:

first^{MDO} / she.is.afraid^P / he.said^P-her¹⁰

At first she was afraid. He said:

- *Šem izzaa, nešš a šem-d-đfaay.*

you^{ESG} / go.first!^A / I / AD / you^{ESGDO}-hither-I.follow^A

- You go first, I shall follow you.

⁴⁹ Mmi 'my son' is to be understood here as an endearing address to a younger person, not implying family relationship.

⁵⁰ řeebđ is to be interpreted here in the religious sense of 'servant to God', i.e. 'human being'.

⁵¹ From the Arabic expression *dif llah* 'guest of God'. In traditional Moroccan rural society, anyone asking hospitality by means of this formula had to be housed and fed for three days.

Yaa izzaa ssšn-ayi taddaaf waha.
only / go.first! / show!-me¹⁰ / house / just
Just go first and show me the house.

Uša yendeh yis nnes, yiwi kis uššen akeḍ wušša.
then / he.guided^p / horse^{FS} / his / he.brought^p / with.him / jackal^{FS} / with / greyhound^{AS}
He guided his horse, he took with him the jackal and the greyhound.

Gg^wuan. Iwḍen yaa taddaaf.
they^M.go¹ / they^M.arrived^p / at / house
They went a long time. They arrived at the house.

Tenn-as: - Aq-aš ḍa ižžen yaazzu xak.
she.said^p-him¹⁰ / look!-you^{M:SG:DO} / here / one^M / he.searches¹ / on.you^{M:SG}
She said: - There is someone here that is looking for you.

Yeffey uždžid-nni, a qa ḍ aždžid. Yeffey, yenn-as:
he.went.out^p / king^{AS}-that / o / QA / PRED / king^{FS} / he.went.out^p / he.said^p-him¹⁰
The king came out, it was a king. He came out and said:

- Min š-d-yešqan?
what / you^{M:SG:DO}-hither-be.of.interest^p
- What has brought you here?

Yenn-as: - Ttaay yaak tṭif-llah,
he.said^p-him¹⁰ / I.begged^p / at.you^{M:SG} / hospitality.
He said: - I ask for hospitality,

a ḍayi-tessensed nhar-a maṛa yexs wuṛ nneš.
AD / me^{DO}-you^{SG}.make.pass.the.night^A / day-this / if / it^M.wants^p / heart^{AS} / your^{M:SG}
you should invite me for the night today, if your heart wants.

Yenn-as: - Marḥba! Aqa-šek yari ḍ anewži!
he.said^p-him¹⁰ / welcome / look-you^{M:SG:DO} / at.me / PRED / guest^{FS}
He said: - Welcome! You are my guest.

Uša yenn-as netta: - Aḍef.
then / he.said^p-him¹⁰ / he / go.in!^A
Then he said: - Come in!

Yessidf-it yeqqn-as yis-nni.
he.let.in^p-him^{DO} / he.tied^p-him¹⁰ / horse^{FS}-that
He let him in, he tied for him the horse.

Ušša-nni ḍ wuššen-nni yeqqn-iten tṭaafi uyis nsen.
greyhound^{FS}-that / and / jackal^{AS}-that / he.tied^p-them^{M:DO} / next / to / horse^{AS} / their^M
He attached the greyhound and the jackal at the side of their horse.

Yegg-iten akides. Uḍfen.
he.put^p-them^{M:DO} / with.him / they^M.went.in^p
He put them with him. They went in.

Yuḍef, yessidf-it, yegg-it, a qa ḍ anewži.
he.went.in^p / he.let.in^p-him^{DO} / he.made^p-him^{DO} / o / QA / PRED / guest^{FS}
He went in, he let him in, he did it, he was his guest.

Yenn-as: - Aqa-š yari d anewži,
he.said^P-him^{IO} / look-you^{MSG:DO} / at.me / PRED / guest^{FS}
He said: - You are my guest,

marḥba, aqa-š yari d anewži.
welcome / look-you^{MSG:DO} / at.me / PRED / guest^{FS}
welcome, you are my guest.

Uša iēawd-as, yenn-as:
then / he.told^P-him^{IO} / he.said^P-him^{IO}
Then he said to him:

- Mayemmi teggim i tayya-yin amenni,
why / you^{MEPL}.did^P / to / slave.woman-over.there / thus
- Why did you do thus to that slave woman over there,

mayemmi das-teggim amenni?
why / her^{IO}-you^{MEPL}.did^P / thus
Why did you do so?

Yenn-as: - Qa tenni, ah ya mmi, mri daš ya iniy.
he.said^P-him^{IO} / QA / that.one^F / woel / o / my.son / if / you^{MSG:IO} / AD / I.say^A
He said: - That one, oh my son, if I would tell you.

Yenn-as: - Ttaq-ayi zeg wamziwen, qa tenni tešš-ayi mmil
he.said^P-him^{IO} / leave!^A-me^{IO} / from / ogres^{AS} / QA / that.one^F / she.ate^P-me^{IO} / my.son
He said: - Keep me away from ogres, she has eaten my son.

Sweždent amensi, sweždent kušši,
they^F.prepared^P / dinner^{FS} / they^F.prepared^P / everything
They prepared dinner, they prepared everything,

tayywin řayant xas.
slave.women / they^F.called^P-hither / on.him.
the slave women called him.⁵²

Yeysi amensi.
he.carried^P / dinner^{FS}
He took the dinner.

Yenn-as: - A aš-ggey ižž usuṭaa.
he.said^P-him^{IO} / AD / you^{MSG:IO}-I.do^A / one^M / demand^{AS}
He said: - I want to ask you something.

Yenn-as: - Suṭaa, nešš ad ggey!
he.said^P-him^{IO} / demand!^A / I / AD / I.do^A
He said: - Ask, and I shall do it for you.

Yenn-as: - Ma a težžed tayya-yin
he.said^P-him^{IO} / Q / AD / you^{SG}.leave^A / slave.woman-over.there
He said: - Would you allow that slave woman

⁵² When there is a guest, it is fitting that the women remain in the kitchen, and that the host gets the plate from the kitchen. Of course, this is not the way it would work in a palace, and the storyteller seems to envisage a situation in which dinner is cooked by the family rather than by servants.

a d-tqarreb yaa wendu⁵³ a kidi tešš?

AD / hither-she.comes.near^A / at / basket^{AS} / AD / with.me / she.eats^A
to come closer to the basket and eat with me?

Yenn-as: - Ah ya mmi, ttqak-aš zeg wamziwen.

he.said^P-him^{IO} / woe! / o / my.son / leave!^A-you^{MSGIO} / from / ogres^{AS}.
He said - Woe, my son, keep me away from ogres.

Tin tešš-ayi mmi.

that.one.over.there^F / she.ate^P-me^{IO} / my.son
She has eaten my son.

leawd-as tanyana.

he.repeated^P-him^{IO} / second.time /
He said it once more.

Yenn-as: - Umi t-tessutaad, d wenni netta.

he.said^P-him^{IO} / when / it^M-you.demand^P / PRED / that.one^M / he
He said: - If you ask it, that's what it is.

Yesqarreb-it-id a kisen tešš.

he.made.come.near^P-her^{DO}-hither / AD / with.them^M / she.eats^A
He let her come closer so that she would eat with them.

Tqarreb-d s ušaššu nnes amenni, s yiřem,

she.came.near^P-hither / with / wooden.frame^{AS} / her / thus / with.hide^{AS}
She came closer with her wooden frame of a sieve, with the hide

Hedd yeqqar-as šaššu, hedd yeqqar-as iřem.

somebody / he.says¹-it^{IO} / wooden.frame^{FS} / somebody / he.says¹-it^{IO} / hide^{FS}.
(Some say it was a wooden frame, others say it was a hide).

Tesqarreb-it-id, tebda ttett kis.

she.made.come.near^P-him^{DO}-hither / she.started^P / she.eats¹ / with.him
She made him come closer, she started to eat with him.⁵⁴

Uša yebda yeteawad-as.

then / he.started^P / he.tells¹-him^{IO}
Then he started to speak to him again:

Yenn-as: - Mameš temsaa a mmi?

he.said^P-him^{IO} / how / it^F.happened^P / o / my.son
He said: - What happened, my son?

Yenn-as: - Iwyeq qedda n temyarin, ižž nnhaq ruħent...

he.said^P-him^{IO} / I.brought^P / number / of / women^{AS} / one / day / they^F.went^P
He said: - I married a number of women, one day they went...

leawd-as řiqša manis kkint, manis ffyent.

he.told^P-him^{IO} / story / whence / they^F.passed^P / whence / they^F.went.out^P
He told him the story how it had all happened (lit. how they had passed, how they had gone out).

⁵³ This is a flat round basket in which the pan with food is put.

⁵⁴ One would have expected the opposite situation: 'he made her come closer'. This may be a *lapsus* by the storyteller. Alternatively, the direct object pronoun could refer to *andu* 'basket' and mean that she drew the basket closer to her. This does not seem to make much sense in the context, however.

Yenn-as: - Iwyex-t, tenn-as:

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / I.brought^P-her^{DO} / she.said^P-him¹⁰

He said: - I married her, she had said:

'Maŋa yiwy-ayi baŋ n yiyyar-a

if / he.brings^P-me^{DO} / possessor / of / field^{AS}-this

'If the master of this field marries me

a ɖas-d-žžey mmi-s yaas tiyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat.

AD / him¹⁰-hither-I.leave^A / son-his / at.him / pearl^{TS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS}

I will give him a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.'

Yenn-as: - Iwyex-t težž-ayi-t-id.

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / I.brought^P-her^{DO} / she.left^P-me¹⁰-him^{DO}-hither

He said: - I married her and she gave birth to him.

Faqhey iezb-ayi rhaŋ. Yaa uneggaru tešš-ayi-t.

I.rejoiced^P / it^M.pleased-me¹⁰ / situation / at / last^{AS} / she.ate^P-me¹⁰-him^{DO}

I was happy, I was very pleased. In the end she has eaten him.

Yenn-as: - Mameš yegga?

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / how / he.is.like^P

He said: - What was he like?

Yenn-as: - Yaas tiyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat.

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / at.him / pearl^{TS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS}

He said: - He had a golden pearl on his forehead.

Yaas aqbea iɖuɖan, ineqs-as ižžen.

at.him / four / [of] fingers / it^M.is.lacking^P-him¹⁰ / one^M

He had four fingers, one of of which was lacking.

Yenn-as: - I maŋa ssešneyy-aš mmi-š, min ya tegged?

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / and / if / I.showed^P-you^{MSG10} / son-your^{MSG} / what / AD / you^{SG}.do^A

He said: - And if I show you your son, what shall you do?

Yenn-as: - Suŋaa uša teŋteŋ. leawd-as: - Suŋaa uša teŋteŋ.

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / demand!^A / then / you.hold^A / he.repeated^P-him¹⁰ / demand!^A / then / you.hold^A

He said: - Ask and you will get it, ask and you will get it.

Yenn-as: - Mameš yegga mmi-š-nni?

he.said^P-him¹⁰ / how / he.is.like^P / son-your^{MSG}-that

He said: - What is your son like?

leawd-as yenn-as: - Yaas tiyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat,

he.told^P-him¹⁰ / he.said^P-him¹⁰ / at.him / pearl^{TS} / of / gold^{AS} / in / forehead^{AS}

He told him: - He had a golden pearl on his forehead,

yaas aqbea iɖuɖan, ižž ineqs-as.

at.him / four / [of] fingers / one^M / it^M.is.lacking^P-him¹⁰.

and four fingers, one of which was lacking.

Yenn-as: - Aqa-š d wenni i dayi-ixeşşen.

he.said^P-him^{IO} / look-you^{M:SG:DO} / PRED / the.one^M / that / me^{IO}-needing^P

He said: - Look, here is the one that I miss.

Yesseñ-as tiřetteñ-nni, yufa yaas qaḡea.

he.showed^P-him^{IO} / little.finger^{TS}-that / he.found^P / at.him / four

He showed him the little finger, and he saw that there were only four (fingers).

Yekkes arrezzeṭ, tewta tfawkt, tiyuqit-nni n wuqy.

he.took.away^P / turban / it^I.hit^P / light / pearl^{TS}-that / of / gold^{AS}

He took off his turban, and a light shined, this golden pearl.

Uša idarre-as i mmi-s. Bdan trun.

then / he.embraced^P-him^{IO} / to / son-his / they^M.started^P / they^M.weep^I

Then he embraced his son. They started to cry.

Netta yetru, nettaṭ tetru, netta yetru baḡa-s.

he / he.weeps^I / she / she.weeps^I / he / he.weeps^I / father-his

He was crying, she was crying, he, his father, was crying.

Ařami hayan.

until / they^M.got.tired^P

Until they got tired.

Yesseḡma-yas aman i yemma-s, yekks-as šaššu-nni.

he.heated^P-her^{IO} / water^{TS} / to / mother-his / he.took.away^P-her^{IO} / wooden.frame^{TS}-that

He heated water for his mother and took off the wooden frame.

Yenn-as: - Ttaḡak-as, waa ḡas-neqqaa ša.

he.said^P-him^{IO} / leave^A-her^{IO} / not / her^{IO}-we.say^{NI} / not

He said: 'Let us not tell her.'

Iruḡ yettes ak yemma-s,

he.went^P / he.slept^P / with / mother-his

He went to sleep together with his mother.

yesseḡma-yas aman, yessiaḡ-as, yekks-as šaššu-nni.

he.heated^P-her^{IO} / water^{TS} / he.washed^P-her^{IO} / he.took.away^P-her^{IO} / hide^{TS}-that

He heated water for her, he washed her, he took off the hide.

Uša yenn-as: - Ma a dayi-tewšed tina, tašniwin-a,

then / he.said^P-him^{IO} / Q / AD / me^{IO}-you^{SG}.give^A / these^F / co-wives-these

Then he said to him: - Would you give me these, these other women

i yiraan zeg yemma

that / playing^P / from / my.mother.

that have played a trick on my mother

a zaysent iraaḡ mameš iraaṭ zeg yemma?

AD / from.them / I.play^A / how / they^I.played^P / from / my.mother

so that I will play with them the way they played with my mother?

Yenn-as: - A mmi aq-aš-tent, Gg-asent min teşsed.

he.said^P-him^{IO} / o / my.son / look-you^{M:SG:DO}-them^{F:DO} / do^A-them^{F:IO} / what / you^{SG}.want^P

He said - My son, here they are. Do to them whatever you want.

Yettf-*asent yesmun-*asent imuzaan, ašeeuq.*
 he.took^P-them^{IO} / he.brought.together^P-them^{FIO} / locks / hair^{FS}
 He took and tied together their locks, their hair.*

Imud-*it yaa unewwaa uyis.*
 he.braided^P-it^{MDO} / at / tail^{AS} / [of] horse^{AS}
 He braided it together with the tail of the horse.

Uša yettf-*as uša yeqqn-it yaa unewwaa uyis nnes.*
 then / he.took^P-her^{IO} / then / he.tied^P-her^{DO} / at / tail^{AS} / [of] horse^{AS} / his
 Then he took it, he attached it to the tail of his horse.

Uša yewta *deg uyis.*
 then / he.hit^P / in / horse^{AS}
 Then he slapped the horse.

Yessaqawet,⁵⁵ *din iżžen rgeedēt dayes tazegg^{waat}.*
 he.threshed^P / there / one / slope / in.it / shrub^{FS}
 He threshed, there was there a slope with shrubs.

Yeqqim yessaqawet xasent,
 he.sat^P / he.threshes^I / on.them^I
 He threshed a long time with them.

yessaqawet, yeššat, yeššat *deg uyis-nni.*
 he.threshes^I / he.hits^I / he.hits^I / in / horse^{AS}-that
 He threshed, he slapped, he slapped the horse,

Itazzeř uyis-nni ařmi *das-yeqqim illa ušewwaf-nni deg unewwaa-nni uyis.*
 he.runs^I / horse^{AS}-that / until / her^{IO}-it^M.remained^P / only / hairs^{AS} / in / tail^{AS}-that / [of] horse^{AS}
 the horse ran until only the hair remained at the tail of the horse.

Aysum nsent marra yeqqim-*asent x tzeegg^{waat}.*
 flesh^{FS} / their^I / all / it^M.remained^P-them^{FIO} / on / shrub^{AS}
 All their flesh was left behind on the shrubs.

Uša t ta d *nettať. Ař danita. Tekmeř tħažit.*
 then / PRED / this / PRED / she / until / here / it^I.is.finished^P / story
 Then that is it. Until here. The story is finished.

18.3 Part of a sermon in Tarifiyt by the preacher Tariq ibn Ali

This is a transcript of part of a sermon by Tariq ibn Ali published on youtube.com about the dangers of secular music, and at the same time an explanation of the right way to admonish people.⁵⁶

ruheř yaa yinni yezznuzan muzika.
 I.went^P / to / those^M / selling^I / music
 I went to those who sell music.

⁵⁵ Threshing is done by making animals walk rounds on the threshing floor dragging a threshing device. In this case, the word *ssaqawet* is to be understood as 'making rounds with an animal, while dragging something'.

⁵⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PC8pjwZu7Fc>; 6:34–8:42.

tadfeɣ yaa t̥huna.

I.go.in¹ / to / shops^{AS}

I went to the shops.

ša n marraṭ nešš d̥ umeddukeṣ inu,

some / of / times / I / and / friend^{AS} / my

Sometimes together with a friend

uša ntegg-asen ddeewa,⁵⁷ nessawaṣ akisen.

then / we.do¹-them^{MSG} / admonition / we.speak¹ / with.them^M

we admonished them, we admonished them, we talked to them.

nessfehham-iten min teggen.

we.explain¹-them^{MSG} / what / they^M.do¹

We explained what they were doing.

nekk-iten-id mmarra, mmarra min d̥in d̥i nnaḍuq t t̥hanet illa⁵⁸ nuḥ yaas.

we.pass^P-them^{3PL}-hither / all / all / what / there / in / Nador / PRED / shop / only / we.go^P / to.it

We went to all the shops, we went to all the shops in Nador.

nessiweṣ akisen. řeḥaḍ ntaf d̥ ixeddamen waha.

we.spoke^P / with.them^M / some / we.find¹ / PRED / workers / just

We talked to them. Some of them were just working there.

iqqar-aš qa nešš xeddmeɣ waha.

he.says¹-you^{MSG} / QA / I / I.work¹ / just

They say we just work here.

uuzu řxedmeṣ nneyni! t tanežžaṭ, mikaniku, řeḥni.

search^A / work / other / PRED / carpentering^{PS} / mechanics / building

Find another job! As a carpenter, a mechanic, in construction.

t̥ellem ša n šsenet, ruḥ gg-it.

learn^A / some / of / craft / go^A / do^A-it^{FDO}

Learn some craft and do it.

šekk tezznuzid muzika, a?

you^{MSG} / you^{SG}.sell¹ / music / hey

You are selling music, he!

ssem, tezznuzid lalla-buya⁵⁹ n ššdih.

poison / you^{SG}.sell¹ / music / of / dancing

Poison, you are selling dance music.

mmarra wi ya yfellsen d̥i l'umma l l'islam aḍ yiri d̥i ššaḥifa nneš.

all / who / AD / failing^A / in / community / of / Islam / AD / he.is^A / in / leaf / your^{MSG}

All the people that will fail in the Islamic community will be written in Your Book.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *ddeewa* is a conversation about religious subjects as part of missionary work. As they mostly concern warnings against unislamic behavior, we have translated the term here as 'admonition'.

⁵⁸ *illa* 'only' is an insertion from Standard Arabic.

⁵⁹ *Lalla buya* refers to a rhyme which is used in traditional singing in the Rif. In a non-traditional context it refers to recorded music which uses modern instruments.

a š-iḥaseḥ aṛebbi-lealamin xas yawm-lqiyama.

AD / you^{MSG-DO} / he.holds.responsible^A / Lord.of.the.worlds./ on.it / day.of.resurrection
God⁶¹ will take you into account for it on Judgement Day.

lmuhimm, nddura nddura, aṛami nufa paṭrun.

anyway / we.go.around^I / we.go.around^I / until / we.found^P / boss
Anyway, we were walking around until we found the boss.

paṭrun ameqqran nsen.

boss^{TS} / big^{MSG-TS} / their^M
The big boss.

qa yaas waa-ssi šḥaa n ṭhuna qae.

QA / at.him / don't.know / how.many / of / shops^{AS} / entirely
He has a lot of shops.

sedžmey xas, ggiy kis ladab, taḍeḥḥašt.

I.greeted^P / on.him / I.did^P / with.him / courtesy / laughing^{TS}
I greeted him, treated him with courtesy and laughs.

ixeṣṣa wenni yessawařen di ddiṇ ṛeḥda

it^M.is.necessary^P / the.one^M / speaking^I / in / religion / always
He who talks about religion should always

aḍ yessawaṛ ak yewdan di ddiṇ s aṛreḥmeṭ.

AD / he.speaks^I / with / people^{AS} / in / religion / with / compassion
talk with the people about religion with compassion,

waa dži bu s wešraf n tenyaat.

not / is.not / not / with / tying^{AS} / of / forehead^{AS}
and not with a frown on the forehead.

ddeewa, wenni yessawařen di ddiṇ

admonition / the.one^M / speaking^I / in / religion
Admonition, he who talks about religion

ṛeḥda s lḥikma d llin d aṛreḥmeṭ.

always / with / wisdom / and / tenderness / and / compassion
– always with wisdom and tenderness and compassion.

šekk egg min xaš, belley, a,

you^{MSG} / do!^A / what / on.you^{MSG} / communicate!^A / hey /
You just do what you must do, communicate,

iteḥe-iš d wenni, yegga aṛray d wenni,

he.followed^P-you^{MSG-DO} / PRED / that^M / he.did^P / opinion / PRED / that^M
if he follows you, it's fine, if he does what you want, that's fine,

waa yeggi ša, šekk teggiḍ min xaš.

not / he.did^{NP} / not / you^{MSG} / you^{SG}.did^P / what / on.you^{MSG}
if he does not, you have done your duty.

⁶⁰ This refers to the book in which all deeds are kept account of, and which will inform the verdict on Judgement Day.

⁶¹ Literally: The Lord of the worlds. This is a Coranic Arabic expression, used among others in the first Sura.

li'anna aṭṭas n ššabab yetxellaṭ.

because / much^{FS} / of / youth / he.mixes.up¹
Because a lot of young people confuse things.

yeqqar-aš: 'lla, qa teggw^{dem}, lla, lla!

he.says¹-you^{MSG:DO} / no / QA / you^{MPL}.are.afraid¹ / no / no
They say 'you are afraid', no, no.

ddeewa yaas mameš ya teggēd, lžihad yaas wehdes.

admonition / at.it / how / AD / you^{SG}.do^A / holy.war / at.it / alone
For admonition there is a way that you do it, and for the jihad there is another way.

maydanu-lžihad a tssegħaad dinni žžheḍ d fuarma,

arena.of.the.holy.war / AD / you.show^A / there / strength / and / fitness
In the arena of the jihad you must show your muscles,

apatši d a, kalašnikuf.

Apache / and / eh / Kalashnikov
Apache helicopters, Kalashnikovs.

maša aqq-š d lžihad a tewteḍ řexdenni, a tžahdeḍ,

if / look-you^{MSG:DO} / in / holy.war / AD / you^{SG}.hit^A / then / AD / you^{SG}.fight^A
If you are in the jihad then you must shoot, you must do the jihad,

walakin ak yaytma-š d i temzyiḍa, ak yewḍan d i ššarie,

but / with / brothers^{AS}-your^{MSG} / in / mosque^{AS} / with / people^{AS} / in / street
but with your brothers in the mosque, or with people in the street:

lħikma s arreħmeṭ,

wisdom / with / compassion
wisdom and compassion.

ddeewa s arreħmeṭ d lħikma

admonition / with / compassion / and / wisdom
Admonition with wisdom and compassion

baš waa ntxelliṭ ša ak ša.

so.that / not / we.mix.up^{NI} / some / with / some
so that we don't mix things up.

waa dži ddeewa a t-narr a nšaaf tanyaaṭ,

not / is.not / admonition / AD / it^{FD:DO}-we.render^A / AD / we.tie^A / forehead^{FS}
Admonition is not frowning your forehead

a nteeššeb x yewḍan

AD / we.get.angry¹ / on / people^{AS}
and becoming angry towards people:

'lla, mayemmi teggid ta, mayemmi teggid ta.'

no / why / you^{SG}.did^P / this^F / why / you^{SG}.did^P / this^F
'No! Why have you done this, why have you done that?'

lla, lħikma d arreħmeṭ.

no / wisdom / and / compassion
No, wisdom and compassion.

qqimey ssawařey akis uša ieežb-as řhař,
 I.sat^P / I.speak^I / with.him / then / it^M.pleased^P-him^{IO} / situation
 I kept on talking to him and he liked it,

umi kis ssiwřey s ladaḅ ḡ lřikma.
 when / with.him / I.spoke^P / with / courtesy / and / wisdom
 because it talked to him with courtesy and wisdom.

ieežb-as řhař yenn-ayi:
 it^M.pleased^P-him^{IO} / situation / he.said^P-me^{IO}
 He liked it and said:

‘aawah a neqqim ḡa, aqq-š yaa řqehwa di ḡarra
 come! / AD / we.sit^A / here / look-you^{MSGDO} / at / café / in / outside
 ‘Come, let’s sit over here, in the café outside,

a xaš xedžsey leařir.’
 AD / on.you^{MSG} / I.pay^A / juice
 I will buy you some juice.’

iwa nniy-as mxiyyaa, furša řanita bař a kis harrdey mliḥ.
 well / I.said^P-him^{IO} / okay / chance / this^T / so.that / AD / with.him / I.talk^A / well
 I thought: this is even better, this is a chance to talk to him well.

iwa qqimey akis yeqqim yetharred akiḡi.
 well / I.sat^P / with.him / he.sat^P / he.talks^I / with.me
 So I sat with him and he talked with me.

bař a tessnem a wma ynu ieizzen,
 so.that / AD / you^{MPL}.know^A / o / my.brother / my / being.beloved^P
 So that you know my dear brother,

aqzem mliḥ imežžan nneř.
 open!^A / well / ears / your^{MSG}
 open yours ears well.

ařmi ya kemmřey neřř řhaad inu a yenna-ayi ‘a wma ynu.’
 until / AD / I.finish^A / I / talk / my / o / he.said^P-me^{IO} / o / brother / my
 When I had said what I wanted to say, he said: ‘O my brother.’

yarebbi ḡa-t, iniř amin, yarebbi řerř-iř,
 o.God / guide!^A-him^{MDO} / say!^{AMPL} / amen / o.God / improve!^A-him^{DO}
 O God, guide him, say ‘Amen’,⁶² o God make him righteous,

yarebbi beddř-as muzika-nni mařra yaa řa n řhažet nneyni řeřbeḥ,
 o.God / change!^A-him^{DO} / music-that / all / to / some / of.thing / other / it^T.is.good^P
 o God change for him all that music into something else that is good,

iniř amin.
 say!^{AMPL} / amen
 say ‘Amen’.

⁶² This is addressed to the audience of the sermon.

a yenn-ayi: 'šekk teggid... teggid řehsab bi-yaa⁶³ i muzika,
o / he.said^P-me^{IO} / you^{MSG} / you^{SG}.did^P / you^{SG}.did^P / consideration / with.only / to / music
He said: 'You only took into consideration the music,

i šenšuna d leud d lalla-buya. 'nniy-as: 'i?'.
to / tambourine / and / lute / and / lalla.buya / I.said^P-him^{IO} / and
the tambourin, the lute and lalla buya.' I said: 'And?'

ha yenn-ayi dinni ead ktqa.
here! / he.said^P-me^{IO} / there / still / more
He said: 'There is much more!'

yenn-ayi waa dinni bu lfuzžaa
he.said^P-me^{IO} / not / there / not / libertines
He said: 'There are no greater libertines'

- řexxu netta yeqqaan a, wenni yezznuzan, wenni dasen-yeteemmaan -'
now / he / saying^I / hey / the.one^M / selling^I / the.one^M / them^{MSG}-filling^I
- now, he is telling this, he, the seller, the one who records them -

yenn-ayi 'waa din bu taqawa n řehram ktqa zegg inni yetyennžen.
he.said^P-me^{IO} / not / there / not / children / of / forbidden / more / from / those^M / singing^I
he said: 'There are no greater evildoers (lit. bastards) than singers.'

puřki netta yessn-iten mmarra.
because / he / he.knows^P-them^{MSG} / all
Because he knows them all.

yenn-ayi lmanakir i teggen waa tent-itegg qae hedd.
he.said^P-me^{IO} / sins / that / they^M.do^I / not / them^F-he.does^I / entirely / somebody
He said: 'The sins they commit, nobody (else) commits them.

min waa yehřin i teggen uša yeqqim yeteawad-ayi.
what / not / being.good^{NP} / that / they^M.do^I / then / he.sat^P / he.tells^I-me^{IO}
They do everything that is bad,' and he kept telling me.

řebead a řen-d-iniy, řebead waa zemmaa a řen-d-iniy, sseđhiy.
some / AD / them^{MSG}-hither-I.say^A / some / not / I.can^{NP} / AD / them^{MSG}-hither-I.say^A /
I.am.ashamed^P
Some of the things I can tell them, others I can't, I'm ashamed.

da iwđan yaasen řašešmaat t tašemřatc,
there / people^{FS} / at.them^M / beard^{FS} / PRED / white^{F-SGFS}
There are people here who have a white beard,

uša fehmeř nniř, nehřa ma kemmřey-awem.
then / understand^{ASMPL} / by.self / unnecessary / that / I.finished^P-you^{MSG}
so you understand yourselves what I mean, I do not need to tell everything.

đi zzina řraqem-llewwel, đi lfawařiř řraqem-llewwel.
in / adultery / number.one / in / fornication / number.one
In adultery they are the champions, in fornication they are the champions.

⁶³ The use of *bi-* is an insertion from Standard Arabic. The sentence would be better Berber when using only *yaa*.

min xeddmen, manaya qa nzarr-it s tittawin nney,
 what / they^M.work¹ / this / QA / we.see¹-it^{MDO} / with / eyes / our
 What they do, I have seen it with my own eyes,

mayemmi nešš heṭṭaay g wuraan aṭṭaš.
 why / I / I.am.present¹ / in / weddings^{AS} / much^{TS}
 because I attend a lot of weddings.

inni yetyennžen yaa ṭemyarin.
 the.ones^M / singing¹ / at / women^{AS}
 Those who sing among the women.

inni yetyennžen yaa ṭemyarin di šala!
 the.ones^M / singing¹ / at / women^{AS} / in / room
 Those who sing in the women's room!

ṭariq aqq-eṭ yaa yaayazen itegg lḥadiṭ.
 Tariq / look-him^{DO} / at / men^{AS} / he.does¹ / prophetic.Traditions
 Tariq⁶⁴ is with the men telling them about the hadith.

a tmeneed x uzedžif, a neqqim ḥayaa.
 AD / you.withhold^A / on / head^{AS} / AD / we.sit^A / astonished
 You would put your hands on your head, we should be astonished.

man zzaman i di nteiš?
 which / time / that / in / we.live¹
 What kind of time are we living in?

aṭami ižž umaq nniy-as i baḥ n wuraa
 until / one / time^{AS} / I.said^P-him^{IO} / to / master / of / wedding^{AS}
 Once I said to the one who organized the wedding:

‘lḥah ya weddi, yaawem danita inni yetyennžen yaa ṭemyarin.’
 by.God / o / my.friend / with.you^{MPL} / here / the.ones^M / singing¹ / at / women^{AS}
 ‘What? You have singers here singing among the women.’

yenn-ayi: ‘nešš waa ssiney min itewqieen.’
 he.said^P-me^{IO} / I / not / I.know^{NP} / what / happening¹
 He said: ‘I don not know what is happening.’

yenn-ayi: ‘nešš meelik ssney ma a š-d-ēaaḍey da yari yaa wuraa?’
 he.said^P-me^{IO} / I / if / I.know^P / Q / AD / you^{MDO}-hither-I.invite^A / here / at.me / at / wedding^{AS}
 He said: ‘If I had known, do you think I would have invited you here to the wedding?’

ṭemyarin i d-yiwyen kušši.
 women^{TS} / that / hither-carrying.to^P / everything
 It is the women who did everything.

iwyent-id imeḍyazen,
 they^P.brought^P-hither / singers
 They brought the singers,

⁶⁴ The preacher refers here to himself.

udfen-d zi tewwaaṭ n temyarin yaa temyarin,
 they^M.went.in^P-hither / from / door^{AS} / of / women^{AS} / to / women^{AS}
 they came in through the door of the women to the women,

tyennžen dinni, šetṭhen ḍin.
 they^M.sing^I / there / they^M.dance^I.there
 they sing there, they dance there.'

nniy-as: 'nešš qa waa zemmaaṭ aḍ šbaay qa a dayi-iḥedd wuṣ.'
 I.said^P-him^{IO} / I / QA / not / I.can^{NP} / AD / I.endure^A / QA / AD / me^{IO}-it^M.stands^A / heart^{AS}
 I said: 'I can not stand this anymore, my heart almost stops beating.'

nniy-as: 'a yaasen aḍfey ḍin. dinni (i) ya aḍfey, ḍin.'
 I.said^P-him^{IO} / AD / at.them^M / I.go.in^A / there / there / (that) / AD / I.go.in^A / there
 I said: 'I will go to them there, there I will go, there.'

a tiṛi teẓrim-teṭ x yutuḅ, waa t-teẓrim ša?
 o / probably / you^{MPL}.saw^P-it^{FDO} / on / YouTube / not / it^F-you^{MPL}.saw^{NP} / not
 You may have seen it on YouTube. Haven't you seen it?

uḍfey ḍin, kṣiy kiḍi kamira nniy-as i yižžen:
 I.went.in^P / there / I.carried^P / with.me / camera / I.said^P-him^{IO} / to / one^{MAS}
 I entered there, took a camera with me, I said to a guy:

'sewwaaq-d, šewwaaq-d aah a ten-nemnee ḍin, ddaan.'
 film^{IA}-hither / film^{IA}-hither / go^{IA} / AD / them^M-we.grab^A / there / they^M.live^P
 'Film this, film this, I'm going to grab them there live.'

nufa tmunsiwen ak temyarin. eaḍiḅ! eaḍiḅ manaya, eaḍiḅ.
 we.found^P / they^M.take.dinner^I / with / women^{AS} / amazing / amazing / this / amazing
 We found them having dinner with the women. Wow! This is something special, this!

qqimey teggey akisen ddeewa, ssawaṛey ak...
 I.sat^P / I.do^I / with.them^M / admonition / I.speak^I / with
 I admonished them, talked to them...

lqišša t taziraat mbra-ma ruḥey yaasen aṭṭaṣ.
 story / PRED / long^{FSGFS} / without-that / I.went^P / at.them^M / much^{F5}
 The story is very long. I do not have to elaborate.

a lmuḥimm, wanitati yenn-ayi lžara'im t timeqqrānin,
 o / anyway / this.one^M / he.said^P-me^{IO} / crimes / PRED / big^{FPLFS}
 Anyway, this man told me about great crimes,

ṭimyarīn n yaayazen, lfasad, zzina i teggen yina.
 women^{F5} / of / men^{AS} / immorality / adultery / that / they^M.do^I / these^M
 married women, immorality, adultery they commit, these people.

a nettaa aṛebbi-lealamin a ten-yehda, a ten-yeṣṣreh.
 AD / we.beg^A / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / them^{MDO}.he.guides^A / AD / them^{MDO}.he.improves^A
 We ask The Lord to guide them and to make them improve.

a xaney yessbeēēēē ššar nsen.

AD / on.us / he.removes^A / wickedness / their^M
May He remove their evil from us.

ššess mliḥ.

listen!^A / well

Listen carefully!

yenn-ayi: 'iżz umāq usin-d yari pulisiyya.' řmexzen.

he.said^P-me^{IO} / one / time^{AS} / they^M.came^P-hither / at.me / police / authorities
He said: 'Once the police came to me.' Officials.

usin-d yaas, qqimen ssawařen akis.

they^M.came^P-hither / at.him / they^M.sat^P / they^M.speak^I / with.him
They went to him and talked to him.

nnan-as:

they^M.said^P-him^{IO}

They said:

'a weddi qa nufa iżžen t̄tumub̄in t̄egga lak̄šida, t̄enneq̄reḥ.'

o / my.friend / QA / we.found^P / one / car / it^I.did^P / accident / it^I.is.turned.over^P
'We have found a car that was involved in a crash, it was turned upside down.

mmarra wi ḡayes yemmuṭ.

all / who / in.it / he.died^P

All people that were in it died.'

nnan-as: 'nufa musežžala t̄xeddem.' ḡayes řeynuž.

they^M.said^P-him^{IO} / we.found^P / cassette.player / it^I.works^I / in.it / songs

They said: 'We found the cassette player was still on. It was playing music.'

ařmi d ya kksen sinta ufin ššarika nnes,

until / hither / AD / they^M.take.away^A / record / they^M.found^P / firm / his

When they took out the tape they found it was his company,

isem n ššarika.

name^{FS} / of / firm

the name of the company.

nnan-as: 'aqq-eš niwy-aš-t-id,

they^M.said^P-him^{IO} / look-you^{MSG-DO} / we.brought^P-you^{MSG-DO}-it^I.DO-hither

They said: 'Here, we bring it to you

baš a tessneḡ waha min t̄xeddmeḡ.

so.that / AD / you^{SG}.know^A / just / what / you.work^I

so that you know what you are doing.'

pulisiyya teggen-as ddeewa. řmexzen itegg-as ddeewa.

police / they^M.do^I-him^{IO} / admonition / authorities / he.does^I-him^{IO}.admonition

The police were admonishing him, the officials were admonishing him.

a nettaa arebbi-lealamin a ḡaney-yeṣreḥ.

AD / we.beg^A / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / us^{DO}.he.improves^A

Let's ask God to improve us.

zi senni sseqsix-t, nniy-as:

from / by.there / I.asked^P-him^{MDO} / I.said^P-him^{IO}

Then I asked him, I said:

'a š-sseqsiy, lla-yarhem-lwalidin nneš, qa šekk tressned.'

AD / you^{M:SGDO}-I.ask^A / God.forgive.the.parents / your^{M:SG} / QA / you^{M:SG} / you^{SG}.know^P

'I want to ask you, please, you know.'

Nniy-as: 'qa yari řexbaq di bilzik,

I.said^P-him^{IO} / QA / at.me / news / in / Belgium

I said: 'I have heard the story in Belgium,

walakin waa ssiney bu ma mya di mya.

but / not / I.know^{NP} / not / Q / hundred / in / hundred

but I am not sure 100%.

waa zemmaaay a t-iniy di ddars amenni waha,

not / I.can^{NP} / AD / it^{MDO}-I.say^A / in / teaching / thus / just

I can not just tell this in a lecture.

šřiy zegg yewdan, uuzzuy ttehqiq.

I.heard^P / from / people^{AS} / I.search^I / confirmation

I have just heard from people. I am looking for confirmation.

yenn-ayi: 'min?'

he.said^P-me^{IO} / what

He said: 'What?'

nniy-as:

I.said^P-him^{IO}

I said:

'yari řexbaq ižžen yemmut da di nnađuq zegg yinni yetyennžen meerufin.' at.me /

news / one^M / he.died^P / here / in / Nador / from / those^M / singing^I / famous^{PL}

'I have heard that a famous singer had died here in Nador.'

ařami ya yemmet, šbar šwayt n wussan,

when / AD / he.dies^A / wait^I / little / of / days^{AS}

After he died, just a couple of days later,

yemma-s, teggua x yinni yeznuzan kařitat n musežžala, n řeynuž n šřđih.

mother-his / she.goes^I / on / those^M / selling^I / cassettes / of / player / of / songs / of / dance

his mother visited the sellers of music tapes, of the dancing songs.

teqqar-asen: 'lla-yerhem-lwalidin nwem,

she.says^I-them^{IO} / God.forgive.the.parents / your^{M:PL}

She said: 'Please,

sintař n mmi wi řent-zznuzam řa.'

records / of / my.son / not / them^{FDO}-sell^{I:M:PL} / not

do not sell my son's tapes.'

nniy-as: 'ma niřan?' yenn-ayi: 'niřan'

I.said^P-him^{IO} / Q / right / he.said^P-me^{IO} / right

I said: 'Is this true?' He said: 'Yes.'

iwa, nniy-as: 'iwa zid əawd-ayi.'
 well / I.said^P-him^{IO} / well / go.on! / tell!^A-me^{IO}
 Well, I said: 'Come, tell me.'

yenn-ayi: 'uša d nešš tus-d yari.'
 he.said^P-me^{IO} / also / PRED / I / she.came^P-hither / at.me
 He said: 'She also came to me.'

tus-d yaas yemma-s n wenni yemmuṭen.
 she.came^P-hither / at.him / mother-his / of / the.one^M / having.died^P
 The mother of the person who had died had come to him.

iwařen-a, aq ttaay arebbi-lealamin,
 words-these / AD / I.beg^A / Lord.of.the.worlds
 These words, I shall ask of God

a ten-yessiwed yaa yinni yetyennžen,
 AD / them^{MDO}-he.lets.arrive^A / to / those^M / singing^I
 that He will bring them to the singers,

inni yetyennžen di šalaṭ.
 those^M / singing^I / in / rooms
 those who sing in drawing rooms.

šhess mliḥ a wma ynu ieizzen.
 listen!^A / well / o / my.brother / my / being.dear^P
 Listen carefully my beloved brother!

wellaḥ ma tmenyiḥ akiš, qa nešš taazzuḥ-aš řxaa, šhess mliḥ.
 by.God / not / I.fight^I / with.you^{M:SG} / QA / I / I.search^I-you^{M:SG:IO} / good / listen!^A / well
 I swear I'm not arguing with you, I only want good things for you, listen carefully.

ṭamyaaṭ-a tus-d yaas, tettru, weṭṭan-as-d imeṭṭawen.
 woman^{FS}-this / she.came^P-hither / at.him / she.cries^I / they^M.fall^I-her^{IO}-hither / tears
 This women went to him, she was crying, tears were dropping down.

ṭenn-as: 'a mmi ynu, šbedd wi tsežžal bu mmi,
 she.said^P-him^{IO} / o / my.son / my / stop!^A / not / record^I / not / my.son
 She said: 'O my son, stop do not record my son.

muzika d řeynuž-nni nnes, šafi.
 music / and / songs-these / his / enough
 His music and singing, it's over.

šbedd-itent, wi tent-znuza əad kṭaa.
 stop!^A-them^{FD} / not / them^{FD}-sell^I / still / more
 Stop it, don't sell them any more.'

teqqim tettru, ṭenn-as:
 she.sat^P / she.cries^I / she.said^P-him^{IO}
 She kept on crying, she said:

'qa wellaḥ-illa mkuř nḥaq, mkuř džiřet yetḥedda-d yari di lmanam,
 QA / by.God / every / day / every / night / he.stands^I-hither / at.me / in / dream
 'I swear that every day, every night I see my son in my dreams,

yeqqar-ayi: a yemma ynu eawn-ayi, a yemma ynu fekk-ayi.
 he.says¹-me¹⁰ / o / my.mother / my / help^{1A}-me¹⁰ / o / my.mother / my / free^{1A}-me¹⁰
 he keeps on saying 'o mother help me, o mother relieve me.'

a nettaa aʿebbi-lealamin a xaney itub.

AD / we.beg^A / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / on.us / he.has.mercy^A
 Let's beg the Lord to have mercy on us.

a nettaa siḍ-aʿebbi-lealamin a daney-yeṣṣeh,

AD / we.beg^A / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / us¹⁰-he.improves^A
 Let's beg the Lord to improve us,

a daney-yehfed, a daney-yeṣṣaa.

AD / us¹⁰-he.preserves^A / AD / us¹⁰-he.shields^A
 to preserve us, to shield us.

18.4 Songs (izʿran)

The following texts are traditional *izʿran* (singular: *izʿri*), short couplets consisting of two lines, sung to a melody specific to the genre. *Izʿran* are traditionally sung on festive occasions, especially by women during a wedding. Many *izʿran* are widely known all over the Rif, and most of the songs given here are not specific to Iqerfeiyen. The *izʿran* have been adapted from the books *Izran* by Rachida El Marraki, 2009 and *Abrid yer yezran* (the road towards *izʿran*) by Mohamed Chacha, 2000. The transcription follows the pronunciation of the Iqerfeiyen variety.

1.

bismillah⁶⁵ a neḥḍa, bismillah a nenteq

in.God's.name / AD / we.begin^A / in.God's.name / AD / we.declare^A
 In God's name we will begin, in God's name we will speak,

bismillah a nekkes zegg^w ur nney axeyyeq

in.God's.name / AD / we.remove^A / from / heart^{AS} / our / sadness^{FS}
 In God's name we will take away our sadness.

2.

bismillah a neḥḍa ead waa neḥḍi zi ša

in.God's.name / AD / we.begin^A / still / not / we.began^{NP} / from / nothing
 In God's name we will begin, we still haven't begun.

a nexzaa ma ntawy-it-d niy waa t-id-ntiwi ša

AD / we.see^A / Q / we.bring¹-it¹⁰-hither / or / not / it¹⁰-hither-we.bring^{NI} / not
 We shall see whether we are good at it or whether we are not.

3.

ad truy ad truy wi ya řqiy a t-ssruy

AD / I.cry¹ / AD / I.cry¹ / who / AD / I.encounter^A / AD / him¹⁰-I.make.cry^A
 I will cry and cry, whoever I encounter I will make him cry.

mami leeziz inu i ma ead a t-ttuy?

my.love / beloved / my / and / Q / AD / still / AD / him¹⁰-I.forget^A
 My sweetheart will I be able to forget him?

⁶⁵ Bismillah 'in the name of God' is an Arabic formula used when starting something.

4.

*kkiy sadu wuaṭu ḥesbey tifrāy nnes*I.pass^P / under / fig.tree^{AS} / I.counted^P / leaves^{FS} / his

I passed under the fig tree and counted its leaves

*mmeṛqiy ak llif min iru wuṛ nnes*I.meet^P / with / sweetheart / what / it^M.cried^P / heart^{AS} / his

I met my sweetheart, his heart wept a lot.

5.

*maṛa truḥed aliman qabbi waa ḡaš-isemmeḥ*if / you^{SG}.go^P / Germany / the.Lord / not / you^{M:SG:IO}-he.forgives^IIf you go to Germany⁶⁶ may the Lord not forgive you*težžid ṛeeqeṛ inu degg^w brid iseyyeḥ*you^{SG}.left^P / mind / my / in / road^{AS} / it.spilled^P

You left my mind spilled all over the road.

6.

*maṛa truḥed aliman gg-ayi ḡi ṛbaṛ nneš*If. / you^{SG}.go^P / Germany / put!^I-me^{DO} / in / mind / your^{SG:M}

If you go to Germany, keep me in your thoughts

*awi-d arriyalu eemmaḡ-d ṛežbuḥ nneš*bring!^I-hither / present / fill!^I-hither / pockets / your^{SG:M}

Bring me a present, fill your pockets.

7.

*a ṛebḡaa a ṛebḡaa aṣṣarḡabu sennež*o / sea / o / sea / boat^{FS} / above

O sea, o sea with a boat on it,

*wi ya iṛaḥen aliman a leeziz a šem-yežž?*who / AD / going^I / Germany / o / sweetheart / AD / you^{SG:F:DO}-he.leaves^A

Who can go to Germany and leave you behind?

8.

*a iṛan użenna sennež i ṭaddaṭ trun*o / stars^{FS} / [of] sky^{AS} / above / to / house / they^M.cry^I

O stars in the sky, crying above the house,

*ruḥ siwḡem-as ssṛam i ten ḡayi-yettun*go!^I / deliver!^{M:PL}-her^{IO} / greetings / to / the.one^F / me^{DO}-forgetting^P

Go and send my regards to the girl that forgot me.

9.

*iḡes walu walu a tteḡṛiy s kukayin*sleep^{FS} / nothing / nothing / o / I.am.addicted^P / with / cocaine

I can't get no sleep, I'm addicted to cocaine

⁶⁶ In traditional songs, *Aliman* 'Germany' includes Belgium and the Netherlands. We do not know whether this has to do with a slightly earlier start of labor migration towards Germany than to the other countries, or whether it reflects the notoriety the country had acquired due to the Word Wars, while Belgium and the Netherlands may have been hardly known to rural populations in the Rif before 1960.

min xafi išedden tinni n ššayaṭin?

what / on.me / fastening^P / those^F / of / devils

What got me hooked on the works of the devil?

10.

aya řalla yemma, a yemma inu qeṭṭiy

o / lady / my.mother / o / my.mother / my / I.lose.weight^t

O my dear mother, I am losing weight.

iwdan ssawařen dī ddat inu teṣṣiy

people^{FS} / they^M.talk^t / in / body / my / I.hear^t

People talk and in my body I hear it.

11.

sidi eři n nnaḍua a řmaḡaṣa n teħramin

Saint⁶⁷ / Ali / of / Nador / o / harbour / of / girls^{AS}

Sidi Ali of Nador⁶⁸, o harbour of girls,

aḍ iṣebbāq ařebbi uř inu mekin

AD / give.patience^A / God. / heart^{FS} / my / poor^M

May God provide my poor heart with patience.

12.

yexs-iřem wuř inu yexs-iřem zi teṣzi

it^M.wants^P-you^{SG:DO} / heart^{AS} / my / it^M.wants^P-you^{SG:DO} / from / youth

My heart loves you, it loves you since childhood

mayemmi ḡayi-težžid, težžid-ayi ḡa weħd-i?

why / me^{DO}-you^{SG}.left^P / you^{SG}.left^P-me^{DO} / here / alone-me

Why have you left me, left me here alone?

13.

aya muřay nney a uma inu sseḡd nneř

o / groom / our / o / my.brother / my / luck / your^{SG:M}

O our groom, my beloved brother, how lucky you are,

weħlah illa tiwyed tenni yexs wuř nneř

by.God / that / you^{SG}.took^P / the.one^F / it^M.wants^P / heart^{AS} / your^{SG:M}

I swear that you have married the one whom your heart desires.

14.

aya muřay nney a zzin ḡ arifi

o / groom / our / o / beauty / PRED / Riffian^{FS}

O our groom, o Riffian beauty,

zzin am wanita i mani ya yiři?

beauty / like / this^M / and / where / AD / he.is^A

A beauty like this, could there be anywhere else?

⁶⁷ The term *sidi* 'sir' is used to address men in a polite way. It is also used to refer to local saints.

⁶⁸ This is a well-known saint's tomb on the coast in the town of Nador. Next to it is the boulevard where people parade along the sea.

15.

awi-d adžun-nni tuya nniy nehra
bring!^{1A} hither / tambourine^{TS}-that / PAST / I.said^P / not.necessary
Give me that tambourine which I did not want to have,

amšum-a n wuř inu yugi a dayi-yehna
naughty^{TS}-this / of / heart^{AS} / it^M.refuses^P / AD / me^{IO}-he.rests^A
This damned heart of mine is restless.

16.

řalla⁶⁹ řasřit nney mebruk a weřma
lady / bride^{TS} / our / congratulation / o / sister
Our bride, congratulations o sister,

neřšin ntedea akidem s řehna
we / we.plea¹ / with.you^{SGF} / with / peace
We pray that you find peace.

17.

řalla řasřit nney řaqedduht n danun
lady / bride^{TS} / our / can^{TS} / of / Danone
Our bride, o can of Danone (a yoghurt mark)

řabbi yewř-am zzin waa řam-t-yewři s řqanun
God / he.gave^P-you^{SGF:IO} / beauty / not / you^{SGF:IO}-it^{M:DO}-he.gave^{NP} / with / law⁷⁰.
God has given you beauty in abundance.

18.

a řalimaniyyet, ma ammu i yexs wuř nnem?
o / German^{SGF:TS} / Q / thus / that / it^M.want^P / heart^{AS} / your^{SGF}
O German woman, is this your heart's desire?

sellm-as a d-yaqqg^{weh}, řhar inu řam nnem.
allow!^{1A}-him^{IO} / AD / hither-he.goes.home^A / a.month / my / a.year / our^{SGF}
Allow him to go home, one month he is mine, the year round he is yours.⁷¹

19.

mayen yuyin uř inu, řbedd waa řxeddem.
what / happening.to^P / heart^{TS} / my / it^M.stands^P / not / it^M.works¹
What happened to my heart, it stands still and doesn't work

yenna-ayi weřřib: ř lħubb i řayem.
he.said^P-me^{IO} / doctor^{AS} / PRED / love / that / in.you^{SGF}
The doctor told me: It is that you are in love.

20.

řus-ed řenna-ayi: řlif nnem isekkaa.⁷²
she.came^P-hither / she.said^P-me^{IO} / sweetheart / your^{SGF} / he.gets.drunk¹
She came to me and said: Your sweetheart always gets drunk

⁶⁹ The term *řalla* ~ *řalla* 'madame, lady, paternal uncle's wife' is a honorific term.

⁷⁰ This is an idiomatic way of expressing that He has given it without boundaries.

⁷¹ This *izři* refers to the situation of a Moroccan woman/lover left behind by an immigrant worker, who pledges the European girlfriend to let him come one month on vacation to visit her.

maša netta yesšaa, nešš ad swey ktqa
 if / he / he.drunk^P / I / AD / I.drink^A / more
 if he gets drunk, I will drink (even) more.

21.
waa yari bu řeedu zegg^w yarřabu n Mřič
 not / at.me / not / enemy / from / boat⁴⁵ / of / Melilla
 I have no enemy except for the Melilla boat⁷³

yíwy-ayi mami ynu, yežž-ayi t tayužič
 it^M.bring^P-me¹⁰ / my.sweetheart / my / it^M.left^P-me^{DO} / PRED / orphan^{F2S}
 It took away my love, and left me (like) an orphan.

18.5 Dialogues

18.5.1 Basic greetings

Many basic greetings are to a large degree in Classical Arabic (or in a local pronunciation of Classical Arabic). In the following dialogues, Arabic formulae have been underlined.

Meeting somebody:

- A: s-salamu elikum
 the-peace / on.you^{PL}
 Hello.⁷⁴
- B: wa elikum s-salam
 and / on.you^{PL} / the-peace
 Hello.
- A: *mameš tedžiđ? mliħ ša niy?*
 how / you^{SG}.are^P / well / some / or
 How are you doing? Everything alright?
- B: *mliħ, l-hamdu li-lah*
 good / the-praise / to-God
 I'm fine, praise the Lord.
- A: la-bas?
 no-wrong
 Are you fine?
- B: (la-bas), l-hamdu li-lah
 (no-wrong) / the-praise / to-God
 (I'm fine), praise the Lord.

⁷² The Imperfective form *isekkaa* belongs to a different dialect; in Iqeřeyen, the form *sšara* is used instead.

⁷³ The Melilla boat is the boat from the Spanish enclave of Melilla, close to Nador, that takes the immigrant workers to Europe.

⁷⁴ The Arabic formula *s-salamu elikum* 'peace be upon you' is the normal greeting formula. The answer is invariably *wa elikum s-salam*. Even though the Arabic pronoun *kum* refers to a plural, it is used both with singular and plural addressees. People strongly involved in the Berber cause often use the neologism *azul* instead of *s-salamu elikum*.

- A: *bi-xir?*
in-good
Allright?
- B: (*bi-xir*) *l-hamdu li-lah*
(in-good) / the-praise / to-God
Allright, praise the Lord.
- A: *ššehhet mlih?*
health / well
Is your health okay?
- B: *l-hamdu li-lah*
the-praise / to-God
Praise the Lord.
- A: *familya marra mlih?*
family / all / well
Is your family doing well?
- B: *marra mlih, l-hamdu li-lah, barek llahu fik*
all / well / the-praise / to-God / may.he.bless / God / on.you
They are all fine, praise the Lord, thank you.⁷⁵
- A: *min tteawaded?*
what / you^{SG}.tell^I
What are you up to? (lit. 'what are you telling')
- B: *iwa, qa ttwarid...*
well / QA / you^{SG}.see^I
Well, you see...

Taking leave

- A: *waxxa, d uyuay řexxu, yari řa n řřyer*
okay / AD / I.go^A / now / at.me / some / of / work
Okay, I'm leaving now, I have to do something.
- B: *waxxa, d wenni netta, b-eslama*
okay / PRED / that.one / he / in-peace
Allright, that's fine, bye bye.
- A: *d wenni netta, b-eslama*
PRED / that.one / he / in-peace
That's fine, bye bye.

18.5.2 Getting to know each other

- A: *tessawared tmazixt?*
you^{SG}.speak^I / Berber
Do you speak Berber?

⁷⁵ The formula *barek llahu fik*, 'God bless you', is the normal polite thanking formula.

- B: *wah, ssawařey tmazixt*
yes / I.speak¹ / Berber
Yes, I speak Berber.
- A: *mlih, mani teyrid tmazixt?*
good / where / you^{SG}.study^P / Berber
Good, where did you learn Berber?
- B: *yrix-t di lžamiea*
I.study^P-it^{FDO} / in / university
I learned it at University.
- A: *mlih, mameš daš-qqān?* (to a male person)
good / how / you^{MSGIO}-they^M.say¹
Good, what is your name? (lit. 'what do they call you')
mlih, mameš dam-qqān? (to a female person)
good / how / you^{FSGIO} / they^M.say¹
Good, what is your name? (lit. 'what do they call you')
- B: *(nešš) qqān-ayi Patrik (Mariya)*
I / they^M.say¹-me^{IO} / Patrick (Maria)
(Me), my name is Patrick (Maria). (lit. 'they call me Patrick')
- A: *waxxa, nešš qqān-ayi Mimun (Fařima)*
good / I / they^M.say¹-me^{IO} / Mimoun (Fatima)
Okay, my name is Mimoun (Fatima).
- A: *manis šekk?* (to a male person)
whence / you^{SGM}
Where are you from?
manis šemm? (to a female person)
whence / you^{SGF}
Where are you from?
- B: *nešš zi hulanda, maša zeddyey di tanža řexxu, i šekk (šemm)?*
I / from / Netherlands / but / I.live¹ / in / Tanger / now / and / you^{SGM} (you^{SGF})
I'm from the Netherlands, but I live in Tanger now, what about you?
- A: *nešš zeddyey danita, di nnařua*
I / I.live¹ / here / in / Nador
I live here in Nador.
- A: *mešřař yaak men sna?* (to a male person)⁷⁶
how.much / at.you^{SGM} / from / years
How old are you?
mešřař yaam men sna? (to a female person)
how.much / at.you^{SGF} / from / years
How old are you?
- B: *nešš řari třařa-w-třařin sna, i šekk (šemm)?*
I / at.me / thirty-three / year / and / you^{SGM} (you^{SGF})
I'm thirty-three years old, what about you?

⁷⁶ This is a half-Arabic formula, using the Moroccan Arabic construction *šřal men sna* 'how many years'.

- A: *nešš yari tñayn-u-eišrin sna*
I / at.me / twenty-two / years
I'm twenty-two years old.
- B: *waxxa, ađ uyuay a nemzaa ead in-šae-ellah*
okay / AD / I.go^A / AD / we.see.each.other^A / still / if-he.wills-God⁷⁷
Okay, I'm leaving, we will see each other, God willing.
- B: *waxxa, in-šae-ellah, d wenni netta b-eslama*
okay / if-he.wills-God / PRED / that.one / he / with-peace
Okay, God willing, so that's it, bye bye

18.5.3 The weather today

- A: *nhar-a řehmu niy lla?*
day-this / heat / or / no
It is hot today isn't it?
- B: *wah, řehmu aţtas*
yes / heat / much^{F5}
Yes, it is very hot.
- A: *tfušt nhar-a*
sun / day-this
It is sunny today.
- B: *wah tfušt, anzaa waa yewti ša*
yes / sun / rain^{F5} / not / it^M.hit^{NP} / not
Yes, it is sunny, there hasn't been raining (today).
- A: *wah, maša idennad yewta wenzaa*
yes / but / yesterday / it^M.hit^P / rain^{AS}
Yes, but yesterday it rained.
- B: *in-šae-ellah ađ yewwet eawed*
if-he.wills-God / AD / it^M.hits^A / again
It will rain again, God willing.
- A: *maša yexs arřebbi in-šae-ellah*
if / he.wants^P / Lord / if-he.wills-God
God willing.⁷⁸
- B: *in-šae-ellah*
if-he.wills-God
God willing.

⁷⁷ A formula coming from Classical Arabic 'in šā'a llāhu 'if God wills'. Note that the glottal stop of Classical šā'a has been interpreted as a *ε* in Tarifiyt. *in-šae-ellah* is commonly used when referring to something positive in the future.

⁷⁸ The first part *maša yexs arřebbi* is a literal rendering into Tarifiyt of *in-šae-ellah*.

18.5.4 Eating out

Choosing the restaurant

- A: *a nraḥ a nešš?*
AD / we.go^A / AD / we.eat^A
Shall we go and eat?
- B: *waxxa, mani ya nraḥ?*
okay / where / AD / we.go^A
Okay, where shall we go?
- A: *min texsed a teššed?*
what / you^{SG}.want^P / AD / you^{SG}.eat^A
What do you want to eat?
- B: *xsey aḍ šsey iseřman*
I.want^P / AD / I.eat^A / fish^{PL}
I'd like to eat fish.
- A: *waxxa, a nraḥ yaa arristuran umeddukeř inu.*
okay / AD / we.go^A / to / restaurant / [of] friend^{AS} / my
Okay, we will go to a restaurant of a friend of mine.
- B: *waxxa mliḥ*
okay / good
Okay, that's good.
- A: *lmakla nnes tiyřa?*
food / his / it^F.is.expensive^P
Is the food expensive?
- B: *lla, kurři yaaxeş*
no / everything / it^M.is.cheap^P
No, everything is cheap.

While eating

- A: *b-ism-illah*
with-name-God
In the name of God.
- B: *b-ism-illah*
with-name-God
In the name of God.
- A: *wş-ay-d řayenřaşt (furřřta / řmus / ayřrum)*
give!^A-me^{IO}-hither / spoon^{FS} (fork / knife / bread^{FS})
Give me a spoon (fork / knife / bread).
- B: *ay-aş*
here.you.are-you^{SG-MIO}
Here you are.
- A: *εafak*
thanks
Thank you.

Choosing a drink

- A: xsey ađ svey, ffudey
I.want^P / AD / I.drink^A / I.am.thirsty^P
I should like to drink, I am thirsty.
- B: uřa đ neřř ffudey
also / PRED / I / I.am.thirsty^P
I'm thirsty as well.
- A: min řexsed a teswed?
what / you^{SG}.want^P / AD / you^{SG}.drink^A
What do you want to drink?
- B: awi-d kuka t tařemmař
bring!^A-hither / Coke / PRED / cold^{SG:FFS}
Bring me a cold Coke.
- A: waxxa, neřř ađ svey atay
okay / I / AD / I.drink^A / tea^{TS}
Okay, I will drink tea.

Leaving the restaurant

- A: a nuyua?
AD / we.go^A
Shall we go?
- B: waxxa, zid, ttar-as řeřsab.
okay / come.on / ask!^A-him^{IO} / bill
Okay, ask him for the bill.
- A: awy-aney-d řeřsab řlah yehdi-k
bring!^A-us^{IO}-hither / bill / God / he.may.reward-you
Could you bring us the bill please?⁷⁹ (to the waiter)
- B: b-eslama
with-peace
goodbye (to the waiter)
- A: đ wenni netta, řlah ieawen
PRED / that.one / he / God / may.he.help
That's it, goodbye⁸⁰. (to the waiter)

18.5.5 sirkulasyon (traffic)

- A: s-salamu elikum
the-peace / upon.you^{PL}
Hello.

⁷⁹ řlah yehdi-k 'may God reward you' is an Arabic phrase that is used like English 'please'.

⁸⁰ řlah ieawen 'may God help you' is an Arabic phrase used in the same way as English 'goodbye'.

- B: *wa ɛlikum s-salam*
and / upon.you^{PL} / the-peace
Hello.
- A: *tezrid lakṣida-nni yewqeen?*
you^{SG}.saw^P / accident-that / happening^P
Did you see the (car) crash that happened?
- B: *lla, sʔiy xas waha*
no / I.heard^P / on.it / only
No, I only heard about it.
- A: *tewqee degg^w brid n wezyenyan*
it^F.happened^P / in / road^{AS} / of / Zeghanghane^{AS}
It happened on the Zeghanghane road.
- B: *wah, lakṣida t tameqqrant*
yes / accident / PRED / big^{FSGFS}
Yeah, it was a big (car) crash.
- A: *abrid ibellee marra*
road^{FS} / it.is.closed^P / all
The whole road is closed.
- B: *immut ɖin ʃa n yižžen?*
he^M.died^P / there / some / of / one^{M:AS}
Did anybody die there?
- A: *wah, yemmut ižžen waayaz d mmi-s, msakin.*
yes / he.died^P / one / man^{AS} / and / son-his / poor.guys
Yes, one man and his son died, the poor guys.
- B: *mameš temsaa?*
how / it^F.happened^P
How did it happen?
- A: *yeshaaq sstupp uša tudef daysen ižžen ttumubin*
he.burned^P / traffic.light / then / it^F.entered^P / in.them^M / one / car
He crossed the red light and then a car hit them.
- B: *tuya itazzeɣ eini. iwa, a ten-yaqhem sidi aqbbi.*
PAST / he.runs^I / probably / well / AD / them^{M:DO}.he.has.mercy / Sir / Lord
He was probably speeding. Well, may they rest in peace.⁸¹
- A: *tthawaɣ waha, ɖin aṭtas n ttumubin*
be.careful^I / only / there / much^{FS} / of / cars
Just be careful. There are many cars.
- B: *a wah, yewsee uqedduh*
o / yes / it^M.is.many^P / tin.can^{AS}
Yes, there are many tin cans (i.e. cars).

⁸¹ Expressions meaning 'may the Lord have mercy upon him' (both in Arabic and, like here, in Tarifiyt) are used when speaking about people that have passed away.

19. Word list

The following word list contains the words that are used in the grammatical examples and in the texts in alphabetical order. Lemmas have the following structure:

- a. With nouns, first the Free State singular form is given. After this, the first syllable of the Annexed State is given between brackets. A slash (/) indicates that the following form is the plural (Free State), followed by the Annexed State between brackets. When the Free State and the Annexed State are identical, no Annexed State is indicated. Example:

afriw (wa-) / afriwen (wa-)

- i.e. SG:FS *afriw* (SG:AS *wafriw*) / PL:FS *afriwen* (PL:AS *wafriwen*)

- b. With verbs, the Aspectual forms are given in the order Aorist / Perfective / Negative Perfective / Imperfective / Negative Imperfective. The abbreviation NA indicates the verbal noun. When a form is identical to the preceding form, this is indicated by means of =. Example:

aani / = / = / aanni / = / NA tīmaaniwt

- i.e. A *aani* / P *aani* / NP *aani* / I *aanni* / NI *aanni* / NA *tīmaaniwt*

Verbs are cited without person marking. The special vocalization of the Perfective of verbs that have no vowel in the Imperative (see section 4.1) is marked by *i*-a, e.g.

yez / yzi-a / yzi / qqaz / qqiz / NA ṭyuzi

With verbs that underlyingly end in *y* or *w*, which become *i* and *u* in word-final position the citation form is the form with the vowel. The structure of the verb is given after the Aorist between |, e.g.

ḥřu |ḥřw| / = / = / ḥedžu / = / NA aḥ̣řaw

In the alphabetic order, spirantization and pharyngealization are not taken into account; i.e. *d*, *ḍ*, *d* and *ḍ* are alphabeticized together.

Following conventions in Berbers studies, *y* precedes *q* in the alphabetical order and *ε* is the last letter of the alphabet.

A/AA

a allomorph of the particle *ad* see 7.1.1

a proximal deictic clitic 'this' see 6.1

a vocative particle, e.g. a *Mimun*

'(o) Mimoun'

aaḅba / = / *aaḅbi* / *taḅba* / *taḅbi* /

NA *taḅbeyyet* 'to raise'

aaḅbi ~ *arḅbi* 'the Lord'

aabib (waa-) / *iabiben* (y-) 'stepson'

aabū / = / *aabbu* / = / NA *taabbut*

'to carry on the back'

aaḅeṭaṣ ~ *aaḅeṭaṣaa* 'fourteen'

(the form *aaḅeṭaṣaa* is used

before a few nouns such as 'year')

aaḅea ~ *aaḅee* 'four' (the form

aaḅee is used before a few nouns

such as 'year')

aaḅein 'forty'

aageḅ / = / *aagib* / *traggab* / *triggib*

'to be informed, to appear'

aaḡḡeh / *aaḡḡeh* / *aaḡḡih* /

traggah / *triggih* 'to go home'

aaḡ / = / *taḡḡ* / *tih* / NA *trahit*

'to go'

aaḡem / = / *aaḡim* / *aaḡhem* / = / NA

arḡemet 'to forgive (by God), to

have mercy (God)'

aaḡeṣ / = / *aaḡiṣ* / *aaḡheṣ* / = 'to

move house'

aan (waa) 'flour'

aani / = / *aanni* / = / NA

ṭimaaniwt 'to add'

aaḡ / *aaḡi* ~ *a* / *aaḡi* / *aaḡḡ* / = 'to

illuminate, to be lit'

aas / *aasi* ~ *a* / *aasi* / *trusa* / *trusi* 'to

land, to lie down'

aaḡah (only imperative) 'come'

aaḡeṣ / = / *aaḡiṣ* / *ṭakk'aṣ* / *ṭikk'iṣ*

/ NA *taḡḡa* 'to flee'

aawes + *ḡi* / = / *aawis* (no

imperfective) / NA *taawsa* 'to

resemble, look like'

aaḡeṣ / = / *aaḡiṣ* (no Imperfective)

'to be cheap'

aayaz (waa) / *iayazen* (yaa) 'man,

husband'

aaḡ / *aaḡi* ~ *a* / *aaḡi* / *taḡḡa* / *taḡḡi* /

NA *taḡḡiṭ* 'to break'

aaḡem / = / *aaḡim* / *aaḡzem* / = / NA

aaḡam 'to open'

aazu ~ *uuzu* / = / *aazzu* ~ *uuzzu* /

= / NA *taazzut* 'to search'

abarrah (u-) / *iḅarrahen* 'announcer

at the market'

abēṣ (wa-) / *abṛiwen* (wa-) 'eyelash'

abettix (collective); *ṭabettix* /

ṭibettixin 'melon'

abrid (we-) / *iḅriden* (ye-) 'road'

abyas (we-) / *iḅuyas* 'belt'

ad pre-verbal particle expressing non-

realized or future events, see 7.1.1

adḅib (we-) / *iḅḅiben* (ye) 'doctor'

adef / *udef* / *udif* / *tadef* / *tidef* / NA

adaf 'to enter'

- ađegg* 'ar / *iđura* 'father-in-law, brother-in-law'; the plural is used meaning 'parents-in-law'
ađehšua / *iđehšura* 'deaf, deaf person'
ađes / *uđes* / *uđis* / *tađes* / *tiđes* / NA *řađas* 'to be close'
ađewwaa (u-) / *iđewwaa* 'village'
ađraa (we-) / *iđuraa* 'mountain'
adu (~ *sadu*) 'under'
adžun (wa-) / *adžunen* (wa-) 'big tambourin'
af / *ufi~a* / *ufi* / *taf* / *tif* / NA *řwafit* 'to find'
afedžah (u-) / *ifedžahen* 'farmer'
afriw (wa-) / *afriwen* (wa-) 'wing'
afunas (u-) / *ifunasen* 'bull, ox'
agemmiz (u-) ~ *ameggiz* / *igemmizen* ~ *imeggizen* 'cheek'
agezzaa (u-) / *igezzaan* 'butcher'
agi / *ugi* / = / *tagi* / = 'to refuse'
aħaqabid (u-) 'dish consisting of semolina with milk'
aħenzia (u-) / *iħenzian* 'boy'
aħer / *uħer* / *uħiř* / *taħher* / *tiħher* / NA *řweħran* 'to be tired, to become tired, to get fed up with, to try in vain'
aħħq particle introducing an oath
aħuři (u-) / *iħuři* 'sheep'
ak ~ *aked* ~ *ked* 'with' (comitative preposition)
- akeššud* (u-) / *ikeššuden* 'stick'
akid- 'with' (comitative preposition)
Aliman (u-) 'Germany, German person'
am 'like, the same as' (preposition)
amaa / *umaa* / = / *tamaa* / = / NA *řwamaaqt* 'to order'
aman (wa-) (plurale tantum) 'water'
ameddukeř (u-) / *imeddukař* 'friend'
amedyaz (u-) / *imedyazen* 'traditional professional singer'
ameħdaa (u-) / *imeħdaan* 'student'
amen / *umen* / *umin* / *tamen* / *timen* / NA *řaman* 'to believe'
amen 'while' (conjunction)
amenni 'like that, in that way' (adverb)
amensi (u-) / *imensiyen* 'dinner'
ameqqan (u-) / *imeqqanen* 'big one'
amesřem (u-) / *inseřmen* (ye-) 'muslim'
amešna 'like' (preposition)
ameřta (u-) / *imeřtawen* 'tear'
amezdag (u-) / *imezdagen* 'clean (one)'
amettin (u-) / *imettinen* 'dead person, corpse'
amezwara (u-) / *imezwura* 'first one'

- amezzyan* (u-) / *imezzyanen* 'small (one), little (one)'
amežžun (u-) / *imežžan* 'ear'
ami 'when' (conjunction)
amin 'Amen'
ammu 'like this'
amyaa (we-) / *imyaan* (ye-) 'father-in-law'
amšan (we-) / *imušan* 'place, spot'
amšum (we-) / *imšumen* (ye-) 'naughty person, wicked person'
amyan (we-) / *imyanen* 'big billy goat'
amziw (wa-) / *amziwen* (wa-) 'ogre'
ander (we-) / *imedžran* 'grave'
andu (we-) / *inuđa* 'twined plate for winnowing and eating'
aneggaa (u-) ~ *aneggaru* (u-) / *ineggura* 'last one'
aney (wa-) 'palate'
anewwaa (u-) / *inewwaa* (i-) 'tail'
anewži (u-) / *inewžiwen* 'visitor, guest'
anu (wa-) / *anuten* (wa-) 'well'
anzaa (we-) 'rain'
apači (u-) 'Apache helicopter'
ayaṛṛabu (u-) / *iyaṛṛuba* 'boat'
ayaṛraf (u-) / *iyaṛrafen* 'water jug'
ayenža (u-) / *iyenžayen* 'ladle'
ay- presentative particle. The receiver is indicated by an indirect object e.g. *ay-aš* 'here you have it', see 8.5
ayi (u-) 'milk'
ayi (u-) *asemmam* 'buttermilk'
ayirin (u-) 'over there, towards (there)'
ayrum (we-) 'bread'
ayyur (we-) / *iyyaṛ* (ye-) 'donkey'
aq- ~ *aqq-* ~ *aqā* ~ *aqqa* 'presentative particle'
aqaaqriw (u-) / *iqaaqriwen* 'frog'
aqbuš (we-) / *iqubaš* 'jug for fetching water'
aqemmum (u-) / *iqemmam* ~ *iqemmumen* 'mouth'
aqeṛei (u-) / *iqeṛeyen* 'member of the Iqeṛeyen (Guelaia, around Nador) people (tribe)'
aqiḍun (u-) / *iqiḍan* 'tent'
aqzin (we-) / *iqzinen* (ye-) 'dog'
aš 'until' (preposition / conjunction)
ašami 'until' (conjunction)
ašef / *ruṛuf* 'thousand'
aṛrebbi 'God, the Lord'
aṛrezzet / *aṛṛzawez* 'turban'
ari (wa-) 'esparto grass'
ari / *uri-a* / *uri* / *tari* / = / *na tira* 'to write'
arifi (u-) / *irifiyen* 'Riffian person' (traditionally this refers to the Berber groups west of Iqeṛeyen; in modern usage it often includes the latter)

- aři* |ařy| / uři / = / taři / tiři 'to go up'
ařmi 'until' (conjunction)
ařym (we-) / iřyma 'camel'
arr / arri-a / arri / tarra / = / NA
twarrit 'to return, to render, to answer, to plant'
ařray 'will'
ařrehmet 'kindness'
ařriđa 'love'
arriř 'the Rif (region)'
arriyalu / arriyaluř 'present'
arriřuran / arriřuraniř
 'restaurant'
arriř 'fur, feathers'
ařruđ (wa-) 'clothes'
ařřeq '(financial) fortune'
ařu |ařw| / uřu / uřiw / ttařu / ttiřu
 'to give birth'
as-d / us-d / d-usi / tas-d / d-itis / NA
řwasit 'to come' (always combined with the element *d* 'hither')
asaadun (u-) / isaadan 'mule'
aseksuř (u-) / iseksuřen 'upper part of a couscous pan'
ařemmađ (u-) / iřemmađen 'cold (one)'
asemmam (u-) / isemmamen 'sour'
asennan (u-) / isennanen 'thorn'
aseymi (u-) / iseyman 'baby'
ařpanyu (u-) / iřpanya (yi-)
 'Spanish, Spaniard'
asřem (we-) / iseřman 'fish'
ařaa / uřaa / = / tařaa / tiřaa / NA
řuřeffra 'to steal'
ařeeuq (u-) / iřeeuqa 'hair'
ařemmus (u-) / iřemsan 'wrapping'
ařemřař (u-) / iřemřařen 'white (one)'
ařewwaf (u-) 'hair'
ař 'those of (mostly tribal affiliation)'
atay (wa-) 'tea'
ařtař (wa-) 'a lot, many'
ařřaw (wa-) / ařřawen (wa-) 'big eye'
awaan i 'behind'
awař (wa-) / awařen (wa-) ~ iwařen (yi-) 'word, discourse'
aweđ / iweđ / iwiđ / takk^wađ / tikk^wiđ
 / NA awađ ~ řawađt 'to arrive, to reach'
awessaa (u-) / iwessura 'old man'
awi |awy| / iwi / = / tawi / tiwi 'to take, to marry'
awrud 'hither (adverb), towards (here)'
axeddām (u-) / ixeddamen 'workman'
axxam (we-) / ixxamen 'room'
ayawya 'each other'
ayđi (we-) / iřan (yi-) 'dog'
ayetma (ya-) 'brothers'
ayrađ (wa-) / ayrađen (wa-) 'lion'
aysum ~ aksum (we-) 'meat'

ayt 'those of (mostly tribal affiliation)'
 ayužir (u-) / iyužiren 'orphan'
 ayyaw (wa-) / wayyawen (wa-) 'grandchild'
 azedžif ~ aždžif (u-) / izedžifen ~ iždžifen 'head'
 azeggay (u-) / izeggayen 'red (one)'
 azey / uzey / uziy / tazey / tizey / NA řazay 'to dry'
 aziza (u-) / izizawen 'green (one), blue (one)'
 Azyenyan (u) 'Zeghanghane (or Segangan, a village close to Nador)'
 azru (we-) / izra 'stone'
 azu / uza / uzi / tazu / tizu / NA tazut 'to skin'
 azywā (we-) / izewran 'root, muscle'
 azyaw (we-) / izyawen (ye-) 'basket'
 azyen (we-) / izeynan 'half'
 azzeř / uzzeř / uzziř / tazzeř / tizzeř / NA řazzeřa 'to run'
 aždıd (we-) / iždıd (ye-) 'bird'
 aždžıd (u-) / iždžıden 'king'
 ažemmađ (u-) 'opposite'
 aženna (u-) / iženwan 'sky'
 aēēši (u-) 'afternoon'
 aeraḥ (wa-) / aeraḥen (wa-) 'Arab'
 aerua (we-) / ieuraa 'back'

B, B

baḥ / aḥ-baḥ 'owner'
 baḥa / iḥaḥaten 'father'
 baṛra 'outside' (adverb)
 baš 'so that, in order to' (conjunction)
 baṭaṭa (collective); tḥaṭaṭt / tḥaṭaṭin 'potato'
 ḥaw (u-) / iḥawen 'bean'
 bbarršen / = / = / tḥarršin / = / NA ṭubbarršent 'to blacken'
 bda / = / bdi / bedda / beddi / NA beddu 'to begin'
 bda / = / bdi / beṭṭa / beṭṭi / NA beṭṭu 'to divide, to separate'
 bedd / = / = / tḥedda / tḥeddi / NA aḥeddi 'to stand up'
 beddeř / = / = / tḥeddař / tḥeddiř / NA aḥeddeř 'to change, to swap'
 belley / = / = / tḥellay / tḥelliy / NA abelley 'to transfer (orally)'
 belleē / = / = / tḥellae / tḥellie / NA aḥelleē 'to close, to be closed'
 belli 'that' (complementizer)
 Bilžik, Bilžika 'Belgium'
 bnaḍem / iwḍan (ye-) 'human being'
 bṛa 'without' (preposition)
 bu 'post-verbal negative particle before a complement noun or predicate'

bu 'owner of, somebody with'
buya 'word used in the traditional
 song line *řalla buya*'

D, D, D, D

d ~ dd ~ id 'hither' (deictic clitic)

d (followed by Free State)

predicative particle

d (followed by Annexed State)

'and' (preposition)

da 'here' (adverb)

daa (u-) / *idaa* 'leg, foot'

dađ (u-) / *idađ* 'finger'

danita ~ daniti 'here'

darre / = / = / *tdarrae* / = / NA

adarre 'to embrace'

day- 'in' (preposition)

dd 'hither' (deictic clitic)

daa / = / = / *teddaa* / = / NA *tuđaa*

'to live'

dađ / = / = / *tdara ~ ttađ* / *tdari* 'to

get off, to step out'

dađ / *dađur* 'lesson'

ddat 'body'

ddeg 'weird thing'

ddelli (collective); *tađelli* /

tidelli 'watermelon;'

ddexan / *ddaxen* 'smoke'

ddez / = / *ddiz* / *teddez* / = / NA *idez*

'to pound, to flatten'

ddeewa 'admonition'

ddhen 'butter'

ddhen ađuri 'ghee'

ddin 'religion'

dađe 'pregnancy'

ddisku / *ddiskawa* 'song'

dađiqa / *dađayeq* 'minute'

dađra 'maize'

dađša / *dađšura* 'village'

dađbaa / = / = / *tađbbara* / *tađbbari* /

NA *adađbaa* 'to arrange, to rule'

dađ, *dađg*, *dađg* 'in' (preposition)

dađya 'quickly'

dađ / *dađi-a* / *dađi* / *dađ* / *dađi* 'to

cover'

dađ / = / = / *dađfaa* / = 'to follow'

dađ / = / *dađi* / *dađes* / = / NA *dađas*

'to fold'

dađe / = / *dađi* / *dađhe* / = / NA

tađeđhašt 'to laugh'

di 'in' (preposition)

diha 'there'

din 'there'

dinni 'there'

drus 'little, few' (adverb)

du | *duw* | *duwi-a* / *duwi* / *ttaw* / *ttiw* /

NA *ttawa* 'to fly'

duq / = / = / *dađura* / *dađuri* / NA *dađuri*

'to walk around'

duř / *duřuten* '0.5 dirham

(currency)'

duwe / = / *duwi* / *dađak* / *dađik* /

NA *tidewa* 'to return, to become'

džaz / džuz / = / traza / trizi / NA řaz
'to be hungry'

džem / = / džim / tedžem / = 'to spin'

džireť / džyaři 'night'

deā / = / dei / tedēa / tedci / NA
ddeewet 'to beg (religiously), to
curse, to summon (to court)'

F

fāay / = / = / tefriy / = / NA tifaay
'to be bent'

fāh / = / = / farreh / = / NA řefrahet
'to be happy'

fāaq / = / = / farreq / = / NA řfāaq
'to separate'

fād 'thirst'

familiya 'family'

faq / = / fiq / tfaqa / tfiqi / NA afaqi
'to be awake'

farina 'soft wheat'

farrey / = / = / tfarrey / tfarriy / NA
afarrey 'to poor'

fdeř / = / fdiř / feddeř / feddeř 'to
be better'

fedžeq / = / = / tfedžaq / tfedžiq / NA
afedžeq 'to split'

fekk / = / = / tfekka / tfekki / NA
afekki 'to rescue, to solve'

fewwāq / = / = / tfewwāq / = / NA
afewwāq 'to steam'

ffaa / = / = / teffaa / = / NA tnuuffra
'to hide'

ffad / ffud / = / tfadi ~ a / tfidi / NA
fad 'to be thirsty'

ffey / = / ffiy / teffey / = / NA ufuy
'to go out'

ffez / = / ffiž / teffez / = / NA ufuz ~
ifež 'to chew'

ffu-d / = / = / teffu-d / = 'to be in
morning, to become' (always
with the element d 'hither')

ffurřez / = / = / tfurřuz / = / NA
afurřez 'to look, to entertain'

fhem / = / fhim / fehmem / = / NA
řefhamet 'to understand'

fiyāq (u-) / ifiyan 'snake'

fiza / fizať 'visa'

fles / flis / = / teflis / = / NA aflas 'to be
good-for-nothing'

fřan (M), řřana (F) 'so-and-so'

fřinu / fřinawať 'break'

fřeh / = / fřih / fetteh / = / NA ařah
'to swim'

fřer / = / fřir / fetteř / = / NA ařar
'to roll (couscous)'

fuarma / fuarmať 'shape'

fuđ (u-) / ifadden 'knee'

furša / furas 'opportunity'

fuřřita / fuřřitať 'fork'

fus (u-) / ifassen 'hand'

G, GG^w

- g 'in' (prep.)
 gewwed / = / = / tgewwad / tgewwid
 / NA agewwed 'to lead'
 geeēēd / = / = / tgeēēad / tgeēēid / NA
 ageēēed 'to go up, to ascend'
 gg / ggi~a / ggi / tegg / = / NA
 tmeēēga 'to do, to make, to be
 like'
 gg^w / gg^wi~a / gg^wi / tegg^w / = / NA
 tigg^wi 'to knead (bread)'
 gg^wed / = / gg^wid / tegg^wed / = / NA
 tigg^wdi 'to fear, to be afraid'
 ggenfa / ggenfi / tgenfa / tgenfi / NA
 agenfi ~ agenfu 'to heal'
 ggua 'almost' (adverb)

H

- ha presentative particle
 harred / = / = / tharred / = / NA
 řhaad 'to talk'
 haya / = / = / thaya / = 'to be tired'
 hda / = / hdi / hedda / heddi 'to
 guide (religiously), to graze'
 hna / = / hni / (no Imperfective) /
 NA řehna 'to be calm, to be in
 peace'
 Hulanda 'the Netherlands'
 hwa / = / hwi / hekk^wa / hekk^wi / NA
 hekk^wu 'to go down, to descend'

H

- haay / = / = / řarri / = / NA ařray
 'to grind'
 řama 'in order to' (conjunction)
 řaseb / = / řiseb / řasab / řisiš /
 NA ařaseb 'to reproach, to
 punish'
 řawer / = / řiwer / řawar / řiwiř
 'to be careful'
 řayaa 'astonished' (adverb)
 řdaa / = / = / řettaa / = / NA řettu
 'to keep an eye on'
 ředd / = / = / ředda / ředdi / NA
 ředdu 'to limit'
 ředd 'anybody' (in negations)
 řekk / = / = / řekka / řekki / NA
 ařekki 'to rub'
 řendža 'so that' (conjunction)
 řenna / řihennařin 'grandmother'
 řfed / řfid / řeffed / = / NA ařfad
 'to memorize'
 řiđeař ~ řiđeařa 'eleven' (the
 form řiđeařa is used before a few
 nouns such as 'year')
 řima 'so that' (conjunction)
 řkem / = / řkim / řekkem / = / NA
 řřkam 'to rule'
 řřeř / = / řřiř / ředžeř / = / NA
 řřhřař 'to be ill, to be sick'
 řřu | řřw / = / řřiw ~ řřu / ředžu / =
 / NA ařřaw 'to gulp, to eat or

drink semi-liquid food (e.g. thick soup)

hseb / = / *hsib* / *hesseb* / = / NA

řehsab 'to count'

huma 'so that' (conjunction)

I

i 'to' (preposition)

i relative marker, also in cleft constructions

i 'and' (a particle used to coordinate between conversational turns)

iad / = / = / *yarred* / = 'to dress'

iaden (plurale tantum) 'wheat'

iđammen (plurale tantum) 'blood'

iđennad 'yesterday'

iđes (yi-) 'sleep'

iđzi (yi-) / *issi* (yi-) 'daughter'

ifis (yi-) / *ifisen* (yi-) 'hyena'

ifri (yi-) / *ifran* (yi-) 'cave'

iggwež / = / = / *ttaggwaž* / *tiggwiž* /

NA *tiggwaž* 'to be far'

illa 'that' (complementizer)

imendi 'barley'

inaqfed / *inaqfawen* 'spleen'

inađan 'good deeds'

ini / *na* / *qqaa* / = / NA *timenna* 'to say'

insi (yi-) / *insawen* (yi-) 'hedgehog'

inu 'my'

iyaaynen (plurale tantum) '(double) saddlebag'

iyemzan (plurale tantum) 'big teeth'

iyess / *ixsan* (ye-) 'bone'

iyeyd / *iyeyden* 'billy-goat'

iyyed (yi-) 'ash'

iyra / *iyri* / *tiyra* / *tiyri* / NA *řiyra*

'to be expensive'

iyzaa (ye-) / *iyezran* 'river'

iraa / = / = / *tiraa* / = NA *řiraat* 'to play'

iřef (yi-) / *iřfan* (yi-) 'boar'

iřem (yi-) / *iřmawen* (yi-) 'skin, hide'

iřes (yi-) / *iřsawen* (yi-) 'tongue'

iri (yi-) / *irawen* (yi-) 'neck'

iři / *dža* / *dži* / *tiři* / = 'to be'

isem (yi-) / *ismawen* (yi-) 'name, name giving day'

išarri / *ašraan* (wa-) 'ram'

išš (yi-) / *aššawen* (wa-) 'horn'

išt (yi-) ~ *išten* (yi-) 'one' (feminine)

(the Annexed State is only used after prepositions)

iři (yi-) / *iřran* (yi-) 'star'

iwa 'well' (interjection)

iwdan (ye-) 'people'

iwzan (yi-) 'roughly ground wheat'

ixdaa / = / = / *tixdaa* / = 'to choose'

ixef 'self' (reflexive construction)

iyyaa (yi-) / *iyrān* (yi-) 'field'

izi (yi-) / *izan* (yi-) 'fly'

izzaa / = / = / tizzaa / = 'to go first,
to precede'

iždi (yi-) 'sand' (unity noun)

ižžen (yi-) 'one' (masculine) (the
Annexed State is only used after
prepositions)

K, KK^w

kalašnikuf / kalašnikufať

'Kalashnikov'

kamira / kamirať 'camera'

karru (u-) / ikarruťen 'cart'

kašita / kašitať '(music) tape, cassette'

kemmer / = / = / tkemmař / tkemmiř

/ NA akemmer 'to finish'

kennint 'you' (feminine plural)

kenniw 'you' (masculine plural)

keyyef / = / = / tkeyyaf / = / NA

akeyyef 'to smoke'

kisu 'cheese'

kk / kki-a / kki / tekk / = / NA

twakkit 'to pass'

kkaa / = / = / tekkaa / = / NA tnuřri

'to get up, to stand up'

kkes / = / kkis / tekkes / = / NA tikkest

'to remove'

kk^wua / = / = / tekk^wua / = / NA

tikk^wra 'to insult, to scold'

kmeř (only Perfective; used as a

stative verb) 'whole'

kxi ~ ysi ~ řsi / = / = / kessi / = / NA

takessit 'to lift, to take'

ktqa 'more'

kuka / kukať 'coke (soft drink)'

kukayin 'cocaine'

kuř ~ mkuř 'every'

kuřři ~ kuřři 'everything'

L, L

l'islam 'Islam'

ladať 'politeness'

lakřida / lakřidať 'accident'

lalla 'paternal uncle's wife, polite
name for lady'

landris / landrisať 'address'

lbaľa / lbaľať 'shovel'

lbanan (collective); tľbanant /

tľbananin 'banana'

leeziz 'beloved (one)'

lřasad 'corruption, rottenness'

lřawařriř 'fornication, adultery'

lřilem / lřilmawať ~ l'ařlam 'film'

lřiras (collective); tľfirast / tľfirasin

'pear'

lřuřřaa 'immoral acts'

lřadiť / l'ařadiť 'Prophetic tradition'

lřikma 'wisdom'

lřubb 'love'

li'anna 'because'

lkanisa / lkanisať 'church'

lkitab / lkutuľ 'book'

lla ~ lľah ~ alľah 'God' (mainly in
set Arabic phrases)

lla 'no'
 llažuq (collective); tlažuq /
 tilažuqin 'brick'
 lleššin (collective); taleššint /
 tileššin 'oranges'
 llewwel 'first'
 llif 'sweetheart'
 lmakla 'food'
 lmal 'property'
 lmalik / lmuluk 'king'
 lmasafa / lmasafaṭ 'distance'
 lmuhimm 'anyway'
 lmunkaṭ / lmanakiṭ 'sin'
 lmuellim / lmuellimin 'teacher'
 lqišša / lqiššaṭ 'story'
 lwalidin 'parents'
 lwelda / lweldaṭ 'womb'
 lžamiea / lžamieaṭ 'university'
 lžarima / lžara'im 'crime'
 lžihad 'holy war'
 lealam / lealamin 'world'
 leašir 'juice'
 leud 'lute'

M

m(u) 'owner of' (feminine)
 ma marker of a yes/no question
 maqmiṭa / maqmayeṭ 'metal pan,
 type of dish'
 maqṭayen 'two times'

madža ~ maža 'if' (hypothetical
 conjunction)
 mameš ~ mammeš 'how'
 mami 'sweetheart'
 man 'which'
 mana 'which'
 manawy- 'which'
 manay- 'which'
 mandarina (collective); tmandarint /
 timandarinin 'mandarin'
 mani 'where'
 manis 'where from'
 mayar ~ mayaa 'why'
 maža ~ madža 'if' (hypothetical
 conjunction)
 marḥḥa 'welcome'
 marra, mmarra 'all'
 marraṭ in ša n marraṭ 'sometimes'
 maša 'but'
 mašša 'food'
 mayemmi 'why'
 mayen ~ min 'what'
 maziṭ / imaziyen 'Berber'
 mbeed 'later, afterwards'
 mbra 'without'
 meeeš / = / = / tmeeeš / tmeeeš NA
 ameeš 'to beg'
 meelik 'if' (counterfactual
 conjunction)
 mermi 'when'

meskin (M), meskina (F), msakin (PL)

'poor person' (used as an expression of compassion)

mešhar 'how much, how many'

meeruf / meerufin 'known'

mi ~ umi ~ řami 'when'

(conjunction)

midden 'people (not belonging to "us")'

mikaniku / mikanikuř 'car mechanic'

milyun 'million'

missa / missař 'table'

mitayen 'two hundred'

mix 'on what, for what'

mkuř 'each'

mlih 'good, well'

mmaani / = / = / tmaani / = / NA

tmaaniwt 'to increase'

mmařra, mařra 'all'

mmendař / = / = / tmenař / = / NA

amendař 'to be thrown away, cast away'

mmenz / = / = / tmenza / tmenzi / NA

řbie 'to be sold'

mmereřa + ak- / = / mmereři / tmeřqa /

tmeřqi / NA amereři 'to meet with'

mmet / mmuř / = / tmetta / tmetti /

NA řmewt 'to die'

mmi '(my) son'

mney / = / mniy / tmenya / tmenyi /

NA amenyi 'to kill'

mnee / = / mnie / mennee / = / NA

řemnaeř 'to withhold, to capture'

myař / = / = / meyyař / = / NA

řemyař 'to grow'

mřadař / = / = / temřadař / temřidis

/ NA amřadař 'to come closer to each other'

mřaya / = / mřiři / temřaya / temřiři

'to call each other'

mřeř / = / mřiř / medžeř / = / NA

řemřař 'to marry'

mřewta / = / mřewti / temřewta /

temřewti / NA amřewti 'to hit each other'

mři 'if' (counterfactual conjunction)

Mřič 'Melilla'

msaa / = / = / (no Imperfective) 'to happen'

mseh / = / msih / messeř / = / NA

amsař 'to clean, to wipe'

msenned / = / = / temsennad /

temsennid / NA amsenned 'to lean on each other'

mseřqa / = / mseřqi / temseřqa /

temseřqi / NA amseřqi 'to meet each other'

mšeř / = / mšiř / meššeř / = / NA

amšař 'to comb'

mud / = / = / tmuđa / tmuđi / NA

amuđi 'to braid'

muka / mukaṭ 'owl'
mun / = / = / tmuna / tmuni / NA
amuni 'to accompany'
munsu / = / = / tmunsiw / = / NA
amensi 'to have dinner'
muṛay 'bridegroom'
musežžala / musežžalaṭ 'cassette
 player'
mušš (u-) / imuššwen 'cat'
muzika 'music'
muzaa (u-) / imuzaan 'lock of hair'
mxeyya 'the best'
mya ~ myat 'hundred' (the form
myat is used before a few nouns
 such as 'year')
mžaa / = / = / ttemžara / ttemžara ~
ttemžiri 'to see each other, to
 meet each other (on purpose)'
mžaa / = / = / mežžaa / = / NA
timeyra 'to harvest, to reap'
mēa 'and' (clause coordinator)

N

n 'of'
nḏaa / = / = / neṭṭaa / = 'to throw'
ndeh / = / ndih / neddeh / = / NA
andah 'to drive, to guide'
nḏeq / = / nḏiq / neṭṭeq / = 'to
 declare, to start speaking'
nḏu | nḏw | = / = / nḏiw ~ nḏu / neṭṭu /
= / NA andaw 'to jump'

ney / nyi-a / nyi / neqq / = / NA
ṭamenyiw 'to kill'
nehra 'no need'
nešš 'I'
neššin 'we'
netta 'he'
nettaṭ 'she'
nyed / = / nyid / neyyed / = / 'to
 pulverize'
nhaq / nhuraṭ 'one day' (adverb)
ni | ny | / nyi-a / nyi / nnay / = 'to
 mount, to get in'
niy 'or' (conjunction)
nišan 'right, straight' (adverb)
niṭenti ~ nihenti 'they' (feminine)
niṭni ~ nihni 'they' (masculine)
Nnaḏua 'Nador'
nneḏ / nneḏ / nniḏ / tenneḏ / = / NA
unuḏ 'to spin, to turn'
nneḏfes / = / = / tneḏfas / tneḏfis 'to
 be folded'
nneḏni ~ nneyni 'other'
nneyney / = / = / tneynay / tneyniy /
NA aneyney 'to stutter'
nneyni ~ nneḏni 'other'
nneqreḏ / = / = / tneqraḏ / tneqriḏ /
NA aneqreḏ 'to turn around, to
 flip'
nnewwaš (collective); *ṭanewwaš /*
ṭinewwašin 'plant (generic term)'
nnhaq / nnhura ~ ussan (wu) 'day'
nni 'that' (postnominal deictic)

nnit 'that very' (pronominal
emphasizer, see 5.3)

nnuqzem / = / = / *tnuqzem* / = 'to
be opened'

nnuffaa / = / = / *tnuffaa* / = / NA
anuffaa 'to hide'

nnwaa (collective) 'plant, flower'

nqes / = / *nqis* / *neqqes* / = / NA
anqas 'to decrease'

ns / *nsi-a* / *nsi* / *tnusa* ~ *tnus* / *tnusi*
~ *tnus* / NA *ʔamensiwt* 'to spend
the night, to sleep over'

Nunža 'Nunja' (name of a female
fairy tale character)

ɲw / *ɲwi-a* / *ɲwi* / *tnenna* / *tnenni* /
NA *ʔnenni* 'to be cooked, to be
ripe'

P, ʔ

paʔu (u-) / *ipaʔuten* 'turkey'

pappa 'bread' (baby language)

paʔapuaʔti / *paʔapuaʔti* 'passport'

paʔiyya / *paʔiyyat* 'pill'

paʔrun (u-) / *ipaʔrunen* 'boss,
manager'

payas ~ *paʔas* (u-) / *ipayasen* ~
ipaʔasen 'mattress'

pintura / *pinturat* 'paint'

pulisiyya / *pulisiyyat* 'police'

puʔki 'because'

Y

ya allomorph of the preverbal
particle *aʔ*

yaa 'only' (adverb)

yaa 'to, at' (preposition)

yaa / *ʔri-a* / *ʔri* / *qqaa* / = / NA *ʔyuri*
'to read, to study, to learn'

yaaq / = / = / *ʔaʔreq* / = / NA *ayʔaq*
'to be stuck, to drown'

yaaʔ / = / = / *ʔaʔres* ~ *qqaaʔ* / = / NA
ayʔas ~ *ʔyaaʔit* 'to tear, to slaughter'

yabyuʔa / *yabyuʔat* 'sea gull'

yenneʔ / = / = / *tyenneʔ* / = / NA
ayenneʔ 'to sing'

yidu (u-) / *iyidwen* (i-) 'rolag, bundle
of washed and carded wool'

yez / *ʔzi-a* / *ʔzi* / *qqaz* / *qqiz* / NA
tyuzi 'to dig'

yia / = / = / *tyia* / = / NA *lyira* 'to be
jealous'

Q

qa present relevance particle (see
8.1 and 13.4.1)

qaaʔeʔ / = / = / *ʔqaaʔeʔ* / = / NA
aqaaʔeʔ 'to card'

qama / *qamat* 'bed'

qarreb / = / = / *ʔqarreb* / *ʔqarrib* / NA
aqarreb 'to approach, to move
closer'

qae 'completely' (adverb)
 qbeř / = / qbiř / qebbeř / = / NA aqbār
 'to accept'
 qbeř 'before' (preposition)
 qda / = / qdi / qeṭta / qeṭti 'to be
 finished (e.g. food), to become
 thin'
 qedda 'such an amount' (adverb)
 qess / = / = / tqessa / tqessi / NA
 aqessi 'to cut'
 qeždeh / = / = / tqeždeh / tqeždi /
 NA aqeždeh 'to limp'
 qibař 'before' (preposition)
 qqen / = / qqin / teqqen / = / NA
 tiyuni 'to close, to tie up'
 qqim / = / = / tyima / tyimi / NA
 ayimi 'to sit, to remain'
 qra / qri~a / qri / qedža / qedži / NA
 qedžu 'to fry (in oil)'
 qreb / = / qrih / qedžeb / = / NA
 aqedžeb 'to turn around, to flip,
 to try, to taste'
 qubbu (u-) / iqubbuten (i-) 'cloak,
 djellaba'
 quči (u-) / iqučiten 'car'

Ř, R, Ț

řa 'also'
 řa... řa 'neither... nor'
 řaya / = / řiyi / tṛaya / tṛiyi / NA
 ařayi 'to call'

rah / ruh / = / trah / tṛih / NA trahit
 'to go'
 řalla 'madame, paternal uncle's
 wife'
 řami 'when' (conjunction)
 řaz 'hunger'
 řaža / = / řizi / tṛaža / tṛizi / NA
 tṛazit 'to wait'
 řbanku / řbankawat 'bank'
 řbař 'mind'
 řbašua (collective); ṭbašuat /
 ṭibašuarin 'fig'
 řhit / řhyut 'room, chamber'
 řbuqmet / řbuqmat 'couscous
 steaming pan'
 řbumba / řbumbat 'bomb'
 řebda 'always' (adverb)
 řebħaa / řebħurať 'sea'
 řebni 'building'
 řebšer (collective); tabšec / ṭibšrin
 'onion'
 řebeaq 'a couple (of)'
 řehna 'calm, peaceful situation'
 řehħeg / = / = / tṛehħag / tṛehħig /
 NA ařehħeg 'to arrive'
 řehmu 'heat'
 řehram 'something forbidden by
 religion'
 řehria 'silk'
 řehrua (plurale tantum)
 'seasoning'
 řehsab / řehsabāt 'counting, bill'

- řeknina / řekninaṭ 'pill'
 řemḥiamet / řemḥiamat
 'handkerchief'
 řeyḥaa 'manure'
 řeynuṣ 'songs'
 řes / řsi-a / řsi / třess ~ řessa 'to
 shave sheep'
 řešzuq (collective); řasežžaaṭ (t-) /
 řisežžura (t-) 'tree'
 řexḥaa / řexḥuraṭ 'news'
 řexdenni 'then, at that moment'
 řexxu 'now' (adverb)
 řežḥub 'pockets' (plural of žžib)
 řežduḍ 'ancestors'
 řeḍdu / řeḍdawaṭ 'enemy'
 řeqeṣ / řeqeṣ ~ řeqeṣaṭ 'mind'
 řfaqq 'difference'
 řfaxaa 'coals'
 řferṣer (collective); řiferṣeč / řiferṣrin
 'paprika'
 řgeḍdet 'plateau'
 řgiḥ 'puss'
 řha / = / řhi / řehha / řehhi / NA
 řehhu 'to be busy'
 řhaad / řehrud 'talk, chatter'
 řhaṣ 'situation'
 řhažet / řehwayeṣ 'thing'
 řhenni 'henna'
 řheqq / řhuquq 'right'
 řhiḍ / řehyuḍ 'wall'
 řkas / řkisan 'glass'
 řkazi / řekwazi 'window'
 řkuasi / řekrasa ~ řekrasi 'chair'
 řmaḥṣa / řmaḥṣaṭ 'harbor'
 řmaqra / řmaqraṭ 'frying pan'
 řmaṣ 'livestock'
 řmed / = / řmid / řemmed / = / NA
 aṣmaḍ 'to learn'
 řmeskin / řemsakin 'poor being'
 řmexzen 'gouvernement,
 government officials'
 řmežmaḥ / řemžmaḥ 'barbecue'
 řmežra / řemžari 'drainage'
 řmudd 'measure for cereals'
 řmus / řemwas 'knife'
 řyaḥet / řeywaḥi 'forest'
 řqa / = / řqi / řeqqa / řeqqi 'to bump
 into, to meet spontaneously'
 řqaḍi / řquḍat 'judge'
 řqanun / lqawanin 'law' (in the
 plural only the Standard Arabic
 form is used)
 řqebb / řeqbub 'hood'
 řqehwa / řeqhawī 'coffee, café'
 řqendaṭ / řeqnaḍaa 'bridge'
 řqendiṣ / řeqnadeṣ 'oil lamp'
 řqiṣṣa / řqiṣṣaṭ 'story'
 řraqem / l'arqam 'number'
 ru / = / = / tru / = 'to cry'
 řweḥš / řuḥuṣ 'animal, beast'
 řweṣṣ 'middle'
 řxaa 'good thing'
 řxadḥa / řexwadḥa 'wish'
 řxedmet / řexdayem 'work'

řawda / řawdať 'mare'

řebd 'human being, worshipper'

řeška 'army'

řeušš / řewaš 'nest, scardy-cow'

S, Š

sadu ~ adu 'under' (preposition)

šafi 'enough'

šala / šalať 'drawing room'

sara / = / = / tsara / tsari / NA asari

'to walk, to stroll, to visit'

sawem / = / siwem / tsawem / tsiwim

/ NA asawem 'to negotiate a

price'

šbaa / = / = / šebbaa / = / NA ššbaa

'to be patient'

šbedd / = / = / šbedda / šbeddi / NA

ašbeddi 'to stop, make stop'

šbeh / = / sbih (no Imperfective) 'to

be nice, good, beautiful'

šbeetaš ~ šbeetašaa 'seventeen' (the

form šbeetašaa is used before a

few nouns such as 'year')

šebbbaa / = / = / tšebbbaa / = / NA

ašebbbaa 'to give patience (the

subject often being God)'

šebea ~ šbec 'seven' (the form šbec

is used before a few nouns such

as 'year')

šebein 'seventy'

šeddee / = / = / tšeddae / tšeddie / NA

ššdee 'to disturb'

sedžem / = / = / tšedžam / tšedžim /

NA asedžem ~ ssřam 'to greet, to

shake hands'

seksu ~ seysu 'couscous'

sellem / = / = / tsellam / tsellim 'to

allow, to hand over'

semseřqa / = / semseřqi / semseřqa /

semseřqi / NA asemseřqi 'to make

meet'

sennež 'above'

senni 'from there'

sey / syi-a / syi / ssay / ssiy / NA

ťamesyiwť 'to buy'

seqsa / = / seqsi / tseqsa / tseqsi / NA

aseqsi 'to ask'

seř / sři-a / sři / tesřa / tesři 'to

hear'

setta ~ sett 'six' (the form sett is

used before a few nouns such as

'year')

seřtaš ~ seřtašaa 'sixteen' (the form

seřtašaa is used before a few

nouns such as 'year')

settin 'sixty'

šewwaa / = / = / tšewwaa / = / NA

ašewwaa 'to take a picture, to

draw'

seyyeh / = / = / tseyyah / tseyyih /

NA aseyyeh 'to spill (liquid)'

- sežžel / = / = / tsežžal / tsežžil / NA
 asežžel 'to record'
- seeēa 'however'
- sgenfa / = / sgenfi / sgenfa / sgenfi /
 NA asgenfi 'to heal, to make better'
- shāaq / = / = / shāraq / shāriq 'to
 burn'
- shess / = / = / shessa / shessi / NA
 ashessi 'to listen'
- sidi 'Sir'
- simant 'self' (reflexive pronoun)
- sinta / sintat 'tape'
- siyi / = / = / tsiyi / = / NA asiyi 'to
 continue'
- sirkulasyon 'traffic'
- smeh / = / smih / semmeh / = / NA
 smahet 'to forgive, to excuse'
- smun / = / = / smuna / smuni / NA
 asmuni 'to bring together, to
 gather'
- sna / snin 'year' (adverb or in
 counting higher than ten)
- spitaq / spitaraq 'hospital'
- sqaq / = / = / tesqara / tesqari / NA
 sskat 'to be quiet'
- sqaqrēb / = / = / sqaqrab / = / NA
 asqaqrēb 'to make approach, to
 move'
- šreh / = / šrih / šedžeh / = / NA ašrah
 'to reconcile, to make good'
- ssa 'from here'
- ššaa / = / = / teššaa / = / NA ššutra
 'to soothe, to shield'
- ssaas / = / = / ssrusa / ssrusi 'to put
 down'
- ssāawet / = / = / ssarwat / = / NA
 asāawet 'to thresh'
- ššabun (collective); tšabunt /
 tšabunin 'soap, piece of soap'
- ssbēēēd / = / = / ssbēēēd / ssbēēēd
 / NA asbēēēd 'to remove'
- ssebsi / ssbasa 'hasheesh pipe'
- sseḍhaa / = / = / sseḍhara / sseḍhari
 / NA asēḍhaa 'to show'
- ssedha / = / ssedhi / ssedha / ssedhi /
 NA asēḍhi 'to be ashamed'
- ssedžum / ssra'em 'ladder'
- ssefhem / = / = / ssefham / ssefhim /
 NA asefhem 'to explain, to make
 understand'
- ssefsi / = / = / ssefsay / = / NA asefsi
 'to melt, to unwrap'
- sseft 'Saturday'
- ššehd 'heat'
- ššehh 'truth'
- ššehhet 'health'
- ssehma / = / ssehmi / ssihma / ssihmi
 / NA asihmi 'to make warm'
- ssehnnunēd / = / = / ssehnnunūd / =
 / NA asehnnunēd 'to wrap'
- ssekk / = / = / ssekka / ssekki / NA
 asekki 'to send'

ssekkaa / = / = / snakkaa / = 'to

wake up, make get up'

ssekwiła / ssekwiłat 'school'

ssemm / ssumum 'poison'

ssemney / = / = / ssmenya / ssmenyi

/ NA asmenyi 'to make fight'

ssen / = / ssin / tessin / = / NA

timessna 'to know'

ssenni 'by there, from there'

ssens / = / = / ssnusa / ssnusi / NA

tamensiwt ~ asensi 'to make

somebody spend the night'

ssensřet / ssenaseř 'chain'

ssenta / = / senti / (no

Imperfective) 'to start, to begin'

sserjw / = / = / snenna / snenni / NA

asserjwi 'to cook'

ššenet / ššnayet '(handi)craft'

sseqsa / = / sseqsi / tseqsa / tseqsi /

NA aseqsi 'to ask'

ssesmed / = / = / ssesmad / ssesmiđ /

NA asessmed 'to make cold, to

freeze'

ssešš / = / = / ssešša / ssešši / NA

asešši 'to feed'

ssewžed / = / = / ssewžad / = / NA

asewžed 'to prepare'

ssesřaa / = / = / ssesřara / ssesřiri /

NA asesřaa 'to spoil'

ssexsi / = / = / ssexsay / = / NA asexsi

'to extinguish'

sseyyed / ssyad 'Sir, Saint'

sseed 'luck'

ssi 'Sir, saint' (shortened form of
sseyyed)

ssiad / = / = / ssiriđ / = / NA asiad

'to wash'

ssiad / = / = / siarřed / = / NA asiad

'to dress (somebody)'

ssibba / řesbab 'reason, cause'

ssidef / = / = / ssadaf / ssidif / NA

asidef 'to make enter'

ssifef / = / = / ssifif / = / NA asifef 'to

sieve'

ssiggwed / = / = / ssaggwad / ssiggwid

/ NA asiggwed 'to frighten'

ssiher / = / = / ssaħar / ssiħir / NA

asiher 'to make tired'

ssiwed / = / = / ssakkwad / ssikkwid /

NA asiwed 'to take, to make

reach'; ssiwed ssřam (+ indirect

object) 'give regards to'

ssiwet / = / = / ssawar / ssiwir 'to

talk'

ssizet / = / = / ssazar / ssizir / NA

asizet 'to make run'

ssižž / = / = / ssažža / ssižži / NA

asižži 'to peek'

ssru / = / = / = / = 'to make cry'

ssřen / = / = / ssřan / ssřin / NA

aseřni 'to show'

ssřupp / ssřuppat 'traffic light'

ssuđes / = / = / ssuđuš / = / NA asuđes

'to make sleep'

ssufey / = / = / ssufuy / = / NA asufey
'to get out, to let out'

ssuq / řeswaq 'market'

ssuṭaa / = / = / ssuṭara / = / NA
asuṭaa 'to demand, to ask'

ssyem / = / = / ssyam / ssyim / NA
asyam 'to raise'

ssyiwen / = / = / ssyawan / ssyiwin /
NA asyawan 'to make full'

sšaa / = / = / sšara / sšari 'to get
drunk'

stilu / stilawaṭ 'pen'

su |sw| / swi~a / swi / sess / = / NA
ṭissi 'to drink'

susef / = / = / susuf / = / NA asusef
'to spit'

suḍ / = / = / tṣuḍ / = / NA aṣuḍi 'to
blow'

ṣurif(u-) / iṣuraf 'step'

swa / = / swi / sekk~a / sekk~i / NA
asekk~i 'to cost'

swadday 'down, below'

sxef / = / = / sexxef / = / NA asxaf 'to
faint'

Š

ša postverbal negative marker

šaaḥ / = / = / šarref / = / NA ašraf 'to tie'

šaaḥ / = / = / šarrez / = / NA ṭiyaaza
(ṭ-) 'to plough, to work the land.'

šab / = / šib / tšaba / tšibi / NA ašabi
'to become grey'

šappu (u-) / išuppa 'hat'

šaṭ (u-) 'ground, clay'

šaššu (u-) / išaššuṭen 'wooden
frame of a sieve'

šdeḥ / = / šdiḥ / šetteḥ / = / NA ššdiḥ
'to dance'

šedd / = / = / tšedda / tšeddi / NA
ašeddi 'to close'

šehrayen 'two months'

šek ~ šekk 'you' (masculine
singular)

šem ~ šemm 'you' (feminine
singular)

šemm / = / = / tšemma / tšemmi / NA
ašemmi 'to smell'

šhaq ~ šhar / šhuraṭ 'one month'
(adverb)

šmes / = / šmis / šemmes / = / NA
ašemsi 'to package, to put in'

šnef / = / šnif / šennef / = / NA tšaniḥ
'to roast, to grill'

šqa / = / šqi / (no Imperfective) 'to
care' + indirect object, e.g. waa
ḡas-šqiḥ 'he does not care about
me.';

šš / šši~a / šši / tett / = / NA mašša
'eat'

ššqa ~ ššua / = / = / teššqa ~ teššua / =
'to fill'

ššarššaa / = / = / tšarššaa / = / NA

ašarššaa 'to cluck'

ššabab 'youth'

ššarie / ššawarie 'street'

ššarika / ššarikať 'company'

ššarř 'evilness'

ššenšuna / ššenšunať 'kind of

tambourine with bells on the
side'ššeε / = / = / tšeε / tšie 'to light, to
put on'

ššhaa 'month'

ššitan / ššayaťin 'devil'

ššmee (collective); tšumεett /

tšumεaťin 'candle'

ššuxřet / = / = / ššuxřut / = / NA

ašuxřet 'to snore'

ššeř (collective); tašeřešt (no
plural) 'matches'

šuađu (u-) / išuađan 'flee'

šway ~ šwayt 'a bit'

T, T, T

taabift (taa-) / taabibin (taa-)

'stepdaughter'

taak / = / = / (no Imperfective) 'to
leave alone' + indirect object, e.g.

taak-as 'let him go!'

taawa (ta-) 'children'

taayast (taa-) 'courage'

tabritt (te-) / tibridin (te-) 'path'

taddaat (ta-) / tudrin (tu-) 'house'

tađehhašt (t-) / tiđehhašin (t-)

'laughter'

tađunt (ta-) 'fat, grease'

tafedžaht (t-) / tifedžahin (t-)

'female farmer'

tařawt (t-) / tiřawin (t-) 'wood'

taftič (te-) / tiťiřin (te-) 'fuse'

tafunast (t-) / tifunasin (t-) 'cow'

tahebbušt (t-) / tihebbu (t-) 'grain,
pimple, spot'

tahenziat (t-) / tihenžirin (t-) 'girl'

tahrant (t-) / tihramin (t-) 'girl'

tahraymešt (te-) 'slyness'

takešša (t-) / tikeššawin (t-) 'worm'

takeššutť (t-) / tikeššuđin (t-) 'small
stick, toothpick'

takettant (t-) / tikettanin (t-) 'cloth'

talwist (te-) / tiłwizin (te-) 'piece of
gold'

tameddiť (t-) 'evening'

tamedžač (t-) / ti-medžarin (t-) 'egg'

tamehtašt (t-) / ti-mehtaš (t-)

'woman who fetches grass'

tamesřent (t-) / ti-meřmin (t-)

'Muslim woman, Islam'

tameseešt (t-) / ti-mešin (t-) 'female
beggar'

tameťtuť (t-) / ti-meťtuťin (t-)

'women'

tammuat (AS : tmuat) / timuřa (t-)

'land'

ṭamyqaṭ (te-) / ṭimyaṛin (te-)

'woman'

ṭamšunt (te-) / ṭimšumin (te-)

'naughty woman, wicked woman'

ṭamza (ta-) / ṭamziwin (ta-) 'ogress'

ṭamzyiḍa (t-) / ṭimziḍawin (te-)

'mosque'

ṭandint (te-) / ṭineddam (t-) 'city'

ṭaneyḍa (t-) 'powder'

ṭanexxač (t-) 'chaff'

ṭanyaṭ (te-) / ṭanyarin (te-)

'forehead'

ṭanyana 'again' (adverb)

ṭayarraḅut (t-) / ṭiyarraḅa (t-) 'small boat'

ṭayenzašt (t-) / ṭiyenzaḅin (t-)

'spoon'

ṭaymaṭ (te-) / ṭiyemriwin (t-)

'corner'

ṭayyuč (te-) / ṭiyyar (te-) 'female donkey'

ṭaqḅušt (te-) / ṭiquḅaš (t-) 'small water jug'

ṭaqedduḥt (t-) / ṭiqedduḥin (t-) 'tin box, plastic can'

ṭaqeṛešt (t-) / ṭiqeṛiyyin (t-) 'woman from the Iqeṛiyyen (Guelaia, around Nador) people (tribe)'

ṭaqiḍunt (t-) / ṭiqiḍan (t-) 'small tent'

ṭaṛa (ta-) / ṭaṛiwin (ta-) 'water source, fresh water pool'

ṭarifešt (t-) / ṭirifiyyin 'Riffian

woman, Riffian language'

(traditionally this refers to the Berber groups west of Iqeṛiyyen; in modern usage it often includes the latter)

ṭaṛyent (te-) / ṭiṛeymin (t-) 'female camel'

ṭasaaḍunt (t-) / ṭisaaḍunin (t-)

'female mule'

ṭaseḅnešt (t-) / ṭiseḅniyyin (t-)

'traditional headscarf with strings'

ṭašpanyut (te-) / ṭišpunya (te-)

'Spanish (woman, language)'

ṭašriṭ (te-) / ṭišraṭin (te-) 'bride'

ṭašemmust (t-) / ṭišemsin (t-) 'wrap'

ṭašna (ta-) / ṭašniwin (ta-) 'other wife of the same husband'

ṭawwuṭ (te-) / ṭiwwuṛa (te-) 'door'

ṭaxedmešt (t-) / ṭixedmiyyin (t-) 'butcher's knife'

ṭayaqzišt (t-) / ṭayaqziḅin (t-)

'female hare'

ṭayḍuaṭ (te-) / ṭiyuḍaa (t-) 'milk jar'

ṭayužič (t-) / ṭiyužiṛin (t-) 'orphan girl'

ṭayya (ta-) / ṭayyawin ~ ṭayyaṭin (ta-) 'female slave'

ṭayyawt (ta-) / ṭayyawin (t-)

'granddaughter, daughter of man/father's sister'

- tazegg^waat (t-) 'kind of shrub
 (Ziziphus lotus)'
 tazeqqa (t-) / tizeywin (t-) 'roof'
 tazewda (t-) / tizewdiwin (t-) 'big
 wooden plate for eating couscous'
 taziri (t-) 'full moon'
 tazruṭ (te-) / tiṣra (te-) 'small stone,
 battery'
 tazyawt (te-) / tiyawin (te-) 'basket'
 taḏḏitt / tiḏḏaḏ 'small bird'
 taḏedḏaft (t-) / tiḏedḏabin (t-) 'small
 djellaba, small gown'
 taeddiss (t-) / tieddissin (t-) 'belly'
 taes^smaat (t-) / tiessmura (t-) 'small
 beard'
 taes^szašt (t-) / tiesszašin (t-) 'dust'
 taeraft (ta-) / taerabin (ta-) 'Arabic
 (woman, language)'
 tḥayra / tḥayriwin 'crow'
 tḥec / = / tḥic / tebbec / = / NA atḥac
 'to follow'
 tḥitešt 'small room'
 tḥuazet / tḥuazaṭin 'small window'
 tḥemzi 'childhood'
 teneas ~ teneasqa 'twelve' (the
 form teneasqa is used before a few
 nouns such as 'year')
 tessea ~ tsee 'nine' (the form tsee is
 used before a few nouns such as
 'year')
 tesein 'ninety'
 tfawkt ~ tfawt / tifawin (t-) 'light'
- tfiyra / tifiyriwin (t-) 'snake'
 tfust / tifassin (t-) 'small hand,
 round of dance'
 tḥanet / tḥuna (t-) 'shop'
 tḥazit / tḥuza (t-) 'story, funny
 anecdote, fairy tale'; tḥazitt n
 twafit 'riddle'
 tiazet (t-) / tiazin (t-) 'sintel'
 tidaatt (ti-) / tidrin (ti-) 'ear (of
 wheat, maize, etc.)'
 tidet 'truth'
 tiffašt (t-) / tiffay (t-) 'leaf'
 tiggess (ti-) / tiggaz (ti-) 'tattoo'
 timessi (t-) 'fire'
 timežmaqt (t-) / řemžamaq
 'barbecue'
 timmi (ti-) / tammiwin (ta-)
 'eyebrow'
 tini ~ tiyni (ti-) 'date'
 tiyit (ti-) 'wisdom'
 tiymest (te-) / tiymas (te-) 'tooth'
 tiṣeft (ti-) / tiṣfaṭin (ti-) 'sow'
 tiṣetteṭt (t-) / tiṣedwin (t-) 'little
 finger'
 tiṣi (ti-) / tiṣiwin (ti-) 'shadow'
 tiṣi 'probably'
 tiṣineft (t-) / tiṣinaft (t-) 'needle,
 inoculation'
 tiṣedfet ~ tikedfet (t-) / tiṣedfin ~
 tikedfin (t-) 'ant'
 tiṣti (te-) / tiyyiṭa (te-) 'blow'
 tiṭt (ti-) / tiṭṭawin (ti-) 'eye'

- tiwešša* (ti-) 'tomorrow'
tiwzaṭin (ti-) (plurale tantum)
 'unripe wheat'
tixsi (te-) / *tixeswin* (t-) 'sheep'
tiyuqit ~ *tyaqut* / *tiyaquṭin* (t-)
 'pearle'
tizi (ti-) 'corridor, own interest',
 e.g. *igg-i i tizi nnes* 'he did it in his
 own interest'
ṭkasešt / *ṭikasiyin* 'small glass'
ṭmaḡmiṭat / *ṭimaḡmiṭaṭin* (t-) 'small
 cooking pan'
ṭmaṭ / *ṭimira* (t-) 'beard'
ṭmanyin 'eighty'
ṭmaḡrat / *ṭimaḡriwin* (t-) 'small
 frying pan'
ṭmazixt / *ṭimaziyin* (t-) 'Berber
 (woman, language)'
ṭmenṭaš ~ *ṭmenṭašaq* 'eighteen' (the
 form *ṭmenṭašaq* is used before a
 few nouns such as 'year')
ṭmenya ~ *ṭmen* 'eight' (the form
ṭmen is used before a few nouns
 such as 'year')
ṭmižža / *ṭimižžawin* (t-) 'throat'
ṭnayen 'two'
ṭpabut / *ṭipabuṭin* (t-) 'turkey, duck'
ṭyaḡdent / *ṭiyaḡdmiwin* (t-)
 'scorpion'
tyatt / *tiyaṭṭin* (t-) 'goat'
tyiř (invariable pseudo-verb) 'to
 think that, to suppose that'; the
 person who thinks is expressed
 by an IO pronoun, e.g. *tyiř-ayi*
yus-d = 'I thought that he had
 come.', see 8.4
tyuyyit / *tiyuyya* (t-) 'scream'
tqaaqra / *tiqaaqriwin* (t-) 'frog'
tqubeḥt / *tiqubeḥaṭin* (t-) 'bird'
tququšt / *tiququšin* (t-) 'eye'
 (baby language)
ṭṛaṭa ~ *ṭeṭṛ* 'three' (the form *ṭeṭṛ* is
 used before a few nouns such as
 'year')
ṭṛaṭin 'thirty'
ṭreṭṭaš ~ *ṭreṭṭašaq* 'thirteen' (the
 form *ṭreṭṭašaq* is used before a few
 nouns such as 'year')
ṭrist 'sheep fur, fleece'
ṭsa / *ṭisawin* (t-) 'liver'
tseṭṭaš ~ *tseṭṭašaq* 'nineteen' (the
 form *tseṭṭašaq* is used before a
 few nouns such as 'year')
ṭsiṛit / *ṭisiṛa* (t-) 'shoe'
ṭṣunett / *ṭiṣunaḡ* (t-) 'swaddling
 cloth'
tsea ~ *tsee* 'nine' (the form *tsee* is
 used before a few nouns such as
 'year')
tšamma / *tšammaṭ* 'ball'
ṭṣumet / *ṭiṣumeṭin* (t-) 'candle'
ttaa / = / = / *tettaa* / = / NA *ṭuṭra* 'to
 ask for, to beg'
ṭṭaḡf 'next to, on the side of'

ttažaa / ttwažaa 'rich person,
 salesman'
 tteḅra / = / tteḅri / tteḅra / tteḅri /
 NA tteḅriyyet 'to be addicted'
 tteḅ / = / tteḅ / tteḅ / tteḅ / NA aḍaf
 'to catch, to get'
 tteffah (collective); tteffaht /
 tteffaḥin 'apple'
 tteḥiq 'checking'
 tteḥ / = / tteḥ / tteḥ / = / NA iḍeḥ 'to
 sleep'
 ttiyara / ttiyarat 'airplane'
 ttmoneyat 'money'
 ttrām 'darkness'
 ttu / = / = / tettu / = / NA twattut 'to
 forget'
 ttumubīn / ttumubīnat 'car'
 tuaṭut / tuaṭatīn 'small fig tree'
 tuḅ / = / = / tuḅa / tuḅi / NA atuḅi
 'repent'
 tuddint / tudunin 'drop'
 tumatiš (collective); ttumatišt /
 ttumatišin 'tomato'
 tuya (in negation : tuyi) past
 particle, see 8.2 and 13.4.2
 tuššent (tu-) / tuššanin (tu-) 'female
 jackal'
 twaṛa / tiwaṛatīn (t-) 'a time, an
 occasion'
 twaṛa / twiṛi (only Imperfective)
 'to see, to be able to see'

twašaa / = / = (no Imperfective)
 'to be ploughed'
 twasizzer / = / = (no Imperfective)
 'to be made run'
 twašš / = / = / (no Imperfective)
 'to be eaten'
 twazzu / = / = / (no Imperfective)
 'to be planted'
 txadent / txuḍam (t-) 'ring'
 txanšet / txunšay (t-) 'sack'
 tiyūqit ~ tyaqut / tiyaqutīn (t-)
 'pearl'
 tyayt feminine plural for tribal
 affiliation prefix, see 3.5
 tyazitt / tiyaziḍin (t-) 'chicken'
 tēllem / = / = / tēllam / tēllim 'to
 learn'

U

uay (wua-) 'gold'
 uatu (wua-) / uatan (wua-) 'fig tree'
 uḥma ~ weḥma (we-) / issma (yi-)
 'sister'
 uḍḍaqabbī 'probably, supposedly'
 uḍem (wu-) / uḍmawen (wu-) 'face'
 udum / = / = / tudum / = / NA tudint
 'to drip'
 uma / awmaten (wa-) 'brother'
 umi 'to whom', see 15.2.3
 uṛ (wu-) / uṛawen (wu-) 'heart'

uřa 'also, neither' (constructed with the predicative particle *đ*),
 e.g. uřa *đ* neřř 'me too'
 uraa (wu-) / uraan (wu-) 'wedding'
 uru (wu-) / uruřen (wu-) 'handful, Euro'
 ussan (wu-) (plural of the singular *nnhaq*) 'days, period'
 usu / = / = / tusu / = / NA *řusuř* 'to cough'
 uřa 'then' (coordinator)
 uřřa (wu-) / uřřayen (wu-) 'greyhound'
 uřřen (wu-) / uřřanen (wu-) 'jackal'
 uyua / = / = / ggua / = / NA *řiřři* 'to walk'

W

waa ~ war preverbal negative particle
 waa ... řa ... řa 'neither ... nor'
 waa ... uřa... 'neither ... nor'
 waadži negator of non-verbal predicates
 waa-ssi 'I do not know'
 wah 'yes'
 waha 'only, just' (adverb)
 walakin 'but' (conjunction)
 walayenni 'but' (conjunction)
 walu 'nothing'

waxxa 'even though (conjunction), okay'
 wđa / wđi-a / wđi / wetřa / wetři / NA *wetřu* 'to fall'
 wedđaa / = / = / twedđara / twedđiri / NA *awedđaa* 'to get lost'
 weddi interjection
 weřđ- 'alone'
 wellah 'by God!'
 wi 'who' (interrogative)
 wi ~ wiř prohibitive particle, see 13.6.1
 wiss ~ uss formative of ordinal numbers, see 10.1.1
 wqeε / = / wqie / tewqie / = 'to happen'
 wřadi 'my children' (used by older women to refer to younger people who are not her children)
 wsee / = / wsiε (no Imperfective) 'to be many'
 wř / wři-a / wři / řiřř / = / NA *řimekřa* 'to give'
 wwet / wři-a / wři / řřat / řřit 'to hit'
 wzen / = / wzın / wezzen / = / NA *řewzen* 'to weigh'

X

x ~ xef ~ xaf- 'on' (preposition)
 xači / xwači 'maternal aunt'

xad ~ *xa* non-real particle
 emphasizing more certainty
xaři / *xwaři* 'maternal uncle'
xbeš / = / *xbiš* / *xebbeš* / = / NA *axbaš*
 'to scratch'
xdeb / = / *xdiš* / *xetdeb* / = / NA
axdab 'to ask the hand of a girl'
xdem / = / *xdim* / *xeddem* / = / NA
řxedmet 'to work'
xedžeš / = / = / *txedžaš* / *txedžiš* / NA
axedžaš 'to pay'
xellet / = / = / *txellat* / *txellit* / NA
axellet ~ *axedžed* 'to mix'
xemmem / = / = / *txemmam* /
txemmim / NA *axemmem* 'to think,
 to ponder'
xemmeř / = / = / *txemmař* / *txemmiř*
 / NA *axemmeř* 'to save, to keep'
xemmežtaš ~ *xemmežtašaq* 'fifteen'
 (the form *xemmežtašaq* is used
 before a few nouns such as 'year')
xemmi, *xemminni* 'when'
 (conjunction)
xemsa ~ *xems* 'five' (the form *xems*
 is used before a few nouns such
 as 'year')
xemsin 'fifty'
xenni 'then' (adverb)
xexš / = / = / *txexš* / = 'to have to'
 (followed by an indirect object
 pronoun, e.g. *itxexš-asen ad swen*
 'they have to drink.')

xeyyeq / = / = / *txeyyaq* / *txeyyiq* /
 NA *axeyyeq* 'to be angry, to be
 sad'
xizzu (collective); *txizzut* / *txizzuŋin*
 'carrot'
xmi, *xminni* 'when' (conjunction)
xřa / = / *xři* / *xedža* / *xedži* / NA
xedžu 'to leave a place, to
 wander'
xřeq / = / *xři* / *xedžeq* / = 'to be born'
xs / = / = / *txes* / = / NA *tximessa* 'to
 want, to love'
xšaq / = / = / *txeššaq* / = / NA
txeššaqat 'to loose, to damage'
xyaa 'aha, allright'
xzaa / = / = / *xezzaa* / = / NA *řxezrať*
 'to look'

Y

ya (followed by a noun in the
 annexed state) exclamative
 particle 'what a', e.g. *ya weyyuř*
 'what a donkey!'
yaađ / = / = / *yarred* / = 'to wear'
yallah ~ *yalleh* 'come on!'
yemma 'my mother'
yis (u-) / *iysan* (ye-) 'stallion, horses'
yum / *iyyam* 'day' (only used in
 counting)
yumayen 'two days' (adverb)
yutuđ 'Youtube'

Z, Ẓ

zāq / ẓri-a / ẓri / ẓar / = 'to see, to check'

zdey / = / zdiy / zeddey / = / NA
tazeddixt 'to live'

zeyyed / = / = / tzeyyed / = 'to give birth'

zegg^wami ~ zegga 'from the moment, since' (conjunction)

zemm / = / = / temma / temma / NA
azemmi 'to squeeze, to press'

zemmaa / = (only perfective) 'to be able to'

zeema 'as if, like' (adverb)

zi ~ zzi ~ zeg ~ zegg ~ zegg^w ~ zgay-
'from'

zid 'proceed, go on' (interjection)

zri | zry | / = / = / zedži / = / NA azray
'to turn something'

zu / = / = / tzu / = / NA tazut 'to bark (dog)'

zzaṭ 'before'

zzenqet / zznai 'street'

zzenz / = / = / zznua / zznuzi / NA
azenzi 'to sell'

zzeř / = / = / tezzeř / = / NA azzař 'to lie down'

zzešt 'oil'

žžehd 'power, strength'

zzin 'beauty' (this essentially abstract word can also be used to

refer to beautiful people, both male and female, similar to English 'she is a beauty')

zzman 'earlier times, the past'

zzu / = / = / tezzu / = / NA tazzut 'to plant'

Ž

žaa- ~ žar- 'between'

žahed / = / žihed / tžahed / tžihed /
NA lžihad 'to perform the Jihad'

žeddi / řežduđ 'grandfather'

žič (u-) / ižazžen 'pin'

žmeε / = / žmie / žemmes / = / NA
ažemmes 'to gather, to collect'

žž / žži-a / žži / težža / težži / NA
twažžit 'to let, to leave'

žžaqf / řežruf 'big rock'

žžadž / řžudž / = / tžadža / tžidži /
NA tžadžit 'to swear'

žžawen / žžiwen / = / tyawan / tyiwin
/ NA tyawant 'to be full, to be satisfied (from eating)'

žždid 'new'

žženn / řžnun 'spirit, djinn'

žžih / řežbuḥ 'pocket'

Ɛ

εaqd / = / = / εarred / = / NA aεraq
'to invite'

εađ 'still, not yet' (adverb)

eam 'one year (adverb), year (in counting)'

eamayen 'two years' (adverb)

eawed / = / *eiwed* / *teawad* / *teiwid* /
NA *aeawed* 'to tell, to recount'

eawed 'again' (adverb)

eawen / = / *eiwen* / *teawan* / *teiwın* /
NA *řemeawnet*, *lmueawana* 'to help'

eyen / = / *eiyen* / *teayan* / *teiyin*
'to wait for'

eažib 'astonishing' (adverb)

ebaa / = / = / *ebbaa* / = / NA *aeabbaa*
(measuring) ~ *řebaret* (fooling)
'to measure, to fool'

edēr / = / *edīř* / *edder* / = / NA *aeđar*
~ *řeedran* 'to make, to repair'

edu / = / = / *eddu* / = 'to pass'

ellem / = / = / *teellam* / *teellim* / NA
aellem 'to teach'

emmaq / = / = / *teemmaq* / = / NA
aeemmaq 'to fill'

emmaqas 'never'

emmi / *emumi* 'paternal uncle'

enti / *ewanti* 'paternal aunt'

ess / = / = / *teess* / *teess* / NA

taessast 'to guard, to keep an eye on'

esšeb / = / = / *teššab* / *teššib* / NA
aeššeb 'to be angry'

esřa ~ *esřaa* 'ten' (the form *esřa* is used before a few nouns such as 'year')

efes / = / *efis* / *effes* / = / NA *aefas* 'to step (on)'

efu / = / = / *effu* / = 'to forgive'

eni 'probably' (adverb)

eiš / = / = / *teiš* / = / NA *lmasiša* 'to live'

eišrin 'twenty'

eizz / = / = / *teizza* / *teizzi* / NA
řemeizzešt 'to be loved'; used with the preposition *x*, e.g. *ieizz xasen* 'they are fond of him'.

elaxatar ~ *elaxataa* 'because' (conjunction)

eqeb / = / *eqib* / *teeqab* / *teeqib* /
NA *aeqab* 'to return'

eqer / = / *eqir* / *eeqer* / = / NA *aeqar*
'to remember, to recognize'

ezizi / *emumi*, *ewazizi* 'paternal uncle'

ezib / = / *ezib* / *teezib* / = / NA *aežab*
'to like'; the subject is the thing liked; the person who likes it is expressed by an IO pronoun, e.g. *iteezib-ayi tteffah* 'I like apples'; *ieezib-ayi řhař* 'I am pleased (lit. I like the situation)'.